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John S. Hendrie

Hamilton, Canada

MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

M.DC.XII—M.DC.L.

From the original in possession of Sir James Carnegie Bart of Southesk.
R.C. Bell. Sculpt.

Montrose

MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

BY

MARK NAPIER.

VOLUME FIRST.

"As Truth does not seek corners it needeth no favour: My resolution is to carry along fidelity and honour to the grave."

Montrose to the Scotch Parliament, 1641.

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TO HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF MONTROSE,

ARE INSCRIBED

THESE MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF HIS GREAT ANCESTOR,

THE MOST ACCOMPLISHED CAVALIER,

THE MOST HUMANE VICTOR,

THE MOST CONSTITUTIONAL STATESMAN,

AND THE

PUREST PATRIOT

OF HIS

COUNTRY AND TIMES.

PREFACE.

Since the publication of "The Life and Times of Montrose," in 1840, the author of the present more complete biography of that great Scottish worthy edited a voluminous collection of original documents, entitled "Memorials of Montrose and his Times," which were printed under the auspices of that very liberal institution of letters the Maitland Club. Of this important historical repertory, affording the most authentic materials for a history of "the Troubles" in Scotland which led to the fall of the Monarchy, the first volume was completed in 1848, and the second in 1850. The nature of the original documents thus preserved, and rendered tangible for the benefit both of History and Biography, and their value especially to a fuller illustration than has hitherto appeared of the life and actions of the maligned Marquis of Montrose, will be best explained by some extracts from the editorial prefaces.

"The first intention of these Memorials of Montrose was, simply, to preserve in a tangible form certain original papers referred to, or partially extracted, in two successive publications of his Life and Times ;[1] but which suitable appendices to those works were found inadequate to contain. These papers were part of the materials obtained from the Montrose and Napier charter-chests. They consisted of various letters to the great Marquis from different members of the royal family ; some docu-

[1] "Montrose and the Covenanters," 1838. "Life and Times of Montrose," 1840.

ments connected with his last unfortunate descent upon Scotland in the year 1650 ; and also the most important papers relating to the nefarious criminal process raised against him by the prevailing faction in 1641, for the purpose of crushing his conservative movement in favour of the Throne. While this plan was in contemplation, under the liberal auspices of the Maitland Club of Scotland, various new acquisitions came very unexpectedly into my possession, and from different quarters unconnected with each other. Twelve original letters from Montrose to his loyal though perverse rival Huntly, hitherto quite unknown, were most obligingly placed at my disposal by the Duke of Richmond. These all relate to the period of the hero's extraordinary exertions to restore the fortunes of the Standard in Scotland, in 1645, after the fatal disaster at Philiphaugh. Some interesting and important papers, including a "REMONSTRANCE" by Montrose, written during the period between his last victory at Kilsyth and the defeat above mentioned, and which I discovered to be in the handwriting of his friend and relative, Archibald first Lord Napier, were no less opportunely than unexpectedly communicated by an intelligent antiquary, Mr Mackinlay of Whitehaven. These documents had never been in possession of the Montrose or Napier families, and had remained in abeyance until now. Not to enumerate at present minor acquisitions, —as all will be found duly acknowledged in the Introductions to the separate Parts of these MEMORIALS,—the Montrose papers found in the charter-chest of Sir James Carnegie of Southesk,[1] the existence of which was also unknown until very recently, only came to light after some sheets of the MEMORIALS had gone to press. Yet

[1] Father to the present Earl of Southesk, in whose person the forfeited Earldom has been recently restored.

the papers last mentioned, which compose Part II. of the first volume of the collection, have added a new and most interesting chapter to the Life of Montrose; the history, namely, of his boyhood and education." [1]

"A renewed search in the Duke of Montrose's charter-room, for which his Grace afforded every facility, brought to light the depositions before the Committee of Estates of a number of individuals, some of them persons of distinction and others ordinary prisoners of war, whose evidence abounds in minute and curious details. These serve to illustrate Montrose's campaigns, both at the outset of his career in 1644 when he distinguished himself against the rebels in the north of England, and also throughout the whole series of those surprising victories by which he more than fulfilled his desperate mission from the King.

"Other original documents were at the same time recovered, from the charter-room at Buchanan, which evince the vindictive spirit of the clerical government of Scotland, and justify the severest comments that can be passed upon those chiefs of the *covenanting* clergy, who hardened their hearts against the fact that the Almighty's throne is the throne of mercy.

"To his Grace the Duke of Hamilton the Collection is indebted for a few letters and documents of great interest, which are duly acknowledged where they occur. But I must be allowed here to express my grateful sense of the courtesy displayed by his Grace in our correspondence on the subject." [2]

[1] Preface to the first volume of MEMORIALS OF MONTROSE, printed for the Maitland Club, 1848.

[2] Preface to the second volume of MEMORIALS OF MONTROSE, printed for the Maitland Club, 1850. It may be necessary to add, that the

Many other minor, but not unimportant contributions to that voluminous and original Collection printed for the Maitland Club, were obtained while the work was in progress. All of these are duly acknowledged in the editorial prefaces and notes; and also in the present volumes, where they happen to be extracted or referred to.

Having engaged in this arduous undertaking entirely as a labour of love, and not having any pretensions to acquire a distinguished, or, so to speak, a professional position in authorship, I have made no attempt to dress by the purists in historical composition. Neither, when submitting to the close and constant contact, which these researches involved, with the original and latent evidences of fanatical cruelty, hypocrisy, cowardice, and calumny, have I sought to fashion a single phrase to that mincing mode of hesitating and half-complimentary dislike, which, sacrificing the expression of a just indignation to a fastidious or a timid taste, fails to distinguish between virtue and vice, and fears to call a spade a spade.

Another important result of these latest researches on the subject of Montrose are some discoveries relative to original portraits of the hero, which cannot fail to interest all readers. These volumes are illustrated by accurate engravings from no less than four original por-

severe strictures passed in this biography upon the political character and conduct of the two first Dukes of Hamilton in their fatal opposition to Montrose, had, in substance, long been in the hands of the public (in the former biographies), before the above-mentioned correspondence with his Grace the late Duke of Hamilton occurred; and that the few documents then so liberally and courteously accorded are not the foundation of those strictures.

traits, with three of which the public were altogether unacquainted. It is unnecessary to add more on the subject in this preface, as a minute and critical account of those interesting works of art, and also of the many engravings which throughout two centuries have tended to obscure, rather than preserve, the memory of the personal appearance of Montrose, will be found in the first number of the appendix to this volume.[1] The other historical portraits of near relatives of the Marquis, which have also afforded fitting illustrations of the present biography, are in like manner sufficiently described and authenticated in the appendix.

In thus redeeming, as we hope to have done, the character of Montrose from the calumnies of two centuries, by the closest of biographical scrutinies, and the most unquestionable of evidences, we claim to have laboured so far successfully in the cause of justice and of truth. But something more remains to be achieved in the same stormy field of the Scottish Troubles. The latest and most brilliant historian of England, too disdainful of minute enquiry where party feeling predominates, speaks of the "seared conscience and adamantine heart" of the great Dundee; and tells us that "James Graham of Claverhouse,"—thus betraying carelessness or ignorance of the very name he is consigning to unmerited obloquy,

[1] It was there omitted to be mentioned, however, that the date discovered upon the youthful portrait—"*Anno* 1629, *Ætatis* 17,"—while it coincides precisely with Montrose's age in that year, and also with the date of the portrait recorded in the accounts of his domestic expenditure, does not coincide with the age of Sir John Carnegie of the Craig, the name which a comparatively modern tradition had erroneously assigned to that portrait.

—" rapacious and profane, of violent temper and obdurate heart, has left a name which, wherever the Scottish race is settled on the face of the globe, is mentioned with a peculiar energy of hatred."

No historical character, we verily believe, was ever more recklessly pourtrayed, or in colours more false than these. In due time, *Deo volente*, Dundee, too, must be redeemed from a vulgar error of history, thus glorified by the golden pen that delights the present age.

AINSLIE PLACE,
March 1856.

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LIFE

OF THE

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE OF MONTROSE—DEATH OF HIS MOTHER—DOMESTIC HABITS OF HIS FATHER—MARRIAGE OF HIS TWO ELDEST SISTERS.

In the absence of direct record, we have to ascertain the time of Montrose's birth from facts and circumstances. But they are interesting, and suffice for the purpose.

On the 4th and 5th of November 1629, he sat for his portrait, to George Jameson, in Aberdeen. This is proved by entries in the family accounts of domestic expenditure. The portrait, which yet exists, is signed by the artist, who had also affixed the following date, and age of the illustrious subject: "*Anno* 1629, *Ætatis* 17."

This valuable work, by that scholar of Rubens who has been called the Scottish Vandyke, though but very recently discovered, is in perfect preservation. An engraving from it is presented to the reader in this volume, and its history will be found in the Appendix. This proves that Montrose was seventeen years of age at the close of the year 1629; and, consequently, that he must have been born some time in the year 1612. The result precisely coincides with other means of ascertaining the

time of his birth, derived from the family papers. He chose his own curators immediately after the death of his father, which occurred towards the close of the year 1626. He must therefore have completed his fourteenth year on or before that time. On the 22d of October 1632, he was transacting business, as a minor, with those curators. So he had not then attained his majority. That he was of age, however, in the following year, when Charles the First was crowned in Scotland, there is some reason to believe, from the Lord Lyon's record of the coronation pageant.

All this confirms the circumstantial statement of Montrose's chaplain, Dr Wishart, that when the Marquis escaped to Norway, on the 3d of September 1646, he was thirty-four years of age,—"*ætatis vero suæ*, 34."

Thus, although no special record of the precise birth-day, or birth-place, of the great Marquis of Montrose has been discovered, it seems proved beyond doubt that he was born some time in the year 1612, twelve years before Charles the First ascended the throne.

Tradition assigns the honour of his birth-place to an old mansion in the town of Montrose, said to have been formerly possessed by the family. The fact is not proved, nor is it important. Unquestionably he was born in Scotland, and we may assume in one or other of the family mansions.

We need not pause upon the lineage of the greatest of the Grahams. The antiquity and heroism of his race are too well authenticated not to be independent of a doubtful legend respecting the wall of Antoninus, since termed *Graham's Dyke*, by reason, as it is said, of an ancestor having made the first breach in its masonry. Such traditions may assist the peerage writer, but are of little value to a family history which can be traced back, through a series of unquestionable records, to the year 1128, and whose greatest worthies of old, however distinguished in arms, and by feudal fidelity, are now lost in the lustre of MONTROSE and DUNDEE.

But without entering minutely into the antiquities of the family, it may gratify at least a sect in Scotland to learn, that the surname of *Grim*, *Gram*, *Græme*, or *Graham*, is by some

antiquaries derived from a Saxon word signifying savage. A milder derivation, however, is afforded by another antiquary, who tells us, that in former times every independent leader was called *Gram*, and his followers *Grams*. In short, all research on the subject seems to resolve into this, that the surname of that ancient and noble race, which has been illustrated by Montrose and Dundee, originally signified,—perhaps a *soldier*, perhaps a *savage*. The reader may suit his taste.

The third Lord Graham was created Earl of Montrose by James IV. in 1504. He died on Flodden field. His eldest son, the Marquis's great-grandfather, fell at Pinkie. The next in succession became Treasurer, Chancellor, and finally, when James ascended the throne of the sister kingdom, Viceroy of Scotland. He presided as such in the Parliament of 1604. His devotion to the interests of the translated Monarch had earned for him that highest dignity of a subject. Among the papers of Sir John Drummond of Hawthornden, father of the poet, there is a document, entitled, "Instructions from King James VI., to Sir John Drummond; and the noblemen, their Engagements to assist his Majesty against the English, 1600." These *Engagements* are signed by the Earls of Montrose, Errol, and Angus. That on the part of our hero's grandfather runs thus:—

"The affection which I bear to the King's Majesty, to the furthering of his Majesty's right to the Crown of England, shall make me neither to spare myself nor friends; but all shall be ready, even to the hazard of life, in the furthering of that honourable errand: And of my *geir* (means) I am content to give his Majesty, for this same purpose, *four hundred crowns*, whenever his Majesty shall have to do with the same. This shall be ready at Whitsunday next, or sooner, if his Majesty have to do therewith.—MONTROSE."[1]

Five years earlier than the date of this substantially loyal missive, the hot blood of the Graham had already evinced itself in the Viceroy's eldest son, Lord Graham, Montrose's father.

[1] In quoting ancient documents, in this volume, I mean to relieve the reader from the fatigue of the ancient orthography.

That humble but quaint and useful contemporary chronicler, Robert Birrell,—a worthy burgess of Edinburgh who kept a diary of passing events,—thus notes an adventure of the young Lord Graham's, which, in later days, would have obtained a more circumstantial record:—

"1595, the 19th of January: The young Earl of Montrose fought a combat with Sir James Sandilands, at the *Salt Trone* of Edinburgh, thinking to have revenged the slaughter of his cousin, Mr John Graham."

An anecdote so illustrative of the character of the parent of the great Marquis, not to speak of the habits of the times, we may be allowed to trace to its origin.

John Graham of Hallyards, a scion of the noble stock, as the above testifies, had been promoted to the place of an Ordinary Lord of Session in 1584. The estate of Hallyards consisted of Temple lands, which this judicial functionary had obtained through his wife, the widow of Sir James Sandilands of Calder. That lady held them upon a title granted by her first husband, whose tenants had a preferable right of possession. To defeat this, a deed was forged by a notary,—at the suggestion, it is said, of William Graham, a brother of the Lord of Session,—by which it was made to appear that the tenants had given up their right. Consequently they were cast in an action raised to establish it. The forgery was discovered; and the result, not unusual in those times, was, that the poor notary, probably the least guilty of the parties in this conspiracy, was hanged. Lord Hallyards then raised another action against the minister of Stirling, who, he alleged, had extorted a false confession from the unfortunate notary,—another well known trait of the times. This step brought the General Assembly of the Kirk, and the Court of Session, into one of those violent collisions, an undulation of which has been felt in these latter days. The Assembly cited the law Lord to appear, and answer for his scandal against the Kirk. The Court of Session stood up for the independence of their own jurisdiction and members. They sent their President, Lord Provand, with the Lords Culross and Barnbarroch, as a deputation to the ecclesiastical court, disclaiming the right of the Assembly to interfere in the matter. Both jurisdictions were obstinate, and the dispute was evaded without being pro-

perly adjusted. Thereafter the tenants of the Temple lands pursued the young heir of the original proprietor. His tutor, and uncle, Sir James Sandilands, took up the quarrel with all the vindictive violence of the times. The Duke of Lennox, Regent, lent his powerful aid; and, says Calderwood, "Upon Tuesday, 13th February 1593, Mr John Graham of Hallyards went out of Edinburgh towards Leith, being charged to depart off the town: The Duke, and Sir James Sandilands, following as it were, with clubs in their hands, and coming down Leith Wynd, one of Mr John's company looked back, and seeing them, they turned to make resistance. The Duke sent, and willed them to go forward, promising no man should invade them. Yet Mr John Graham's company shot; whereupon the Duke suffered Sir James and his company to do for themselves. Mr John was shot; his company fled before ever he was carried to a house. Sir Alexander Stuart's page, a French boy, seeing his master, Sir Alexander, slain, followed Mr John Graham into the house, *dowped a whinger into him*, and so dispatched him. Before this encounter, Mr John was accompanied with three or four score."

The tragical end of this unhappy Lord of Session, affords a curious picture of the times. No less curious and characteristic is that youthful trait of Montrose's father, who thus attempted, two years after the provocation, to avenge the murder of his kinsman, by "ane combat," in the most public thoroughfare of Edinburgh.

The mother of Montrose was Lady Margaret Ruthven, eldest daughter of William first Earl of Gowrie. She was the sister of that too famous and probably murdered Earl of Gowrie, of necromantic memory, who is said to have

> ..... "learnt the art that none may name,
> In Padua, far beyond the sea."

The destinies of her father's house seemed to affect her own offspring, although Providence spared herself the misery of that comparison. One of her daughters, as we shall presently find, was ruined, and for ever lost sight of on earth, through the "devilish arts" and cantrips, as alleged in the judgment against her destroyer, of one "*Carlippis*, who was ane *Necromancer*."

Her destruction was effected by means of an enchanted jewel! Now, of Lady Margaret's grandfather, Patrick Lord Ruthven, John Knox narrates, in his history, that upon one occasion when Queen Mary was out hawking near Kinross, her Majesty, in conversation with some of her suite, "began diverse other purposes, such as the *offering of a ring* to her by Lord Ruthven, whom," she said, "I cannot love, for *I know him to use enchantment*, and yet he is made one of my Privy Council." Secret, but surely most impotent magical charms, were said to have been found disposed about the person of the Earl her brother, upon the occasion of his most suspicious slaughter. And the ghastly head of her father had but recently ceased to be battered by the elements that warred with the gory pinnacle of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, when that trophy was replaced by the head of her only son.

Scot of Scotstarvit informs us, that "Montrose's mother consulted with witches at his birth." Possibly enough, considering the prevalent superstitions and the extraction of this noble lady. But the whole anecdote is rendered more than apocryphal, when that meagre and careless chronicler adds,—"Montrose's father said to a gentleman, who was sent to visit him from a neighbour Earl, that that child would trouble all Scotland: he is also said to have eaten a toad, when he was a sucking child." This might have passed for an allegorical or cynical allusion to his having rashly swallowed the Scottish Covenant when a young man; but the very same story is elsewhere recorded of the Regent Morton, a century before; upon which occasion the father of that unfortunate nobleman was provoked to anathematise his voracious infant in these emphatic terms:—"The Devil chew thee, and burst thee, there will never come good of thee."

If our hero's mother consulted witches at his birth, she was not destined long to watch the fulfilment of their predictions. From the registers of Perth, it appears that she was buried at the church of Aberuthven, between Perth and Auchterarder, in the ancient mausoleum of the Montrose family, upon the 15th of April 1618. Her only son had not then completed his sixth year.

Montrose's father, when Lord Graham, had mingled in the

pageantry attendant on his father, as Viceroy of Scotland. In the Parliaments held at Perth in 1604 and 1606, when the whole nobility rode in state, Lord Graham carried the Great Seal, while Morton carried the Sword, Angus the Crown, and Argyle the Sceptre. In 1616, after he had succeeded to the Earldom, he himself represented his Sovereign, by special commission, at a great convention held in Aberdeen on the affairs of the Kirk, and the popish delinquencies of the Marquis of Huntly. This was the last occasion upon which John, fourth Earl of Montrose, the father of the great Marquis, was conspicuous in public. After the death of his Countess, he lived the retired life of a country gentleman, devoted to his children, and to his household affairs; and obviously very domestic in all his habits. That he had ever drawn the sword at all, is only known from the brief record of Robert Birrell, respecting the family feud already noted. That he still wore one in his retirement, we learn from this item in his expenditure,—"For dressing my Lord's sword at Brechin, 20 shillings,"—*Scots* of course. His two eldest daughters, Lilias and Margaret, were married within two years after the death of their mother. Three young unmarried daughters, Dorothea, Katherine, and Beatrix, were still left under their widowed father's care. Montrose, as we have said, was the only son. During the life of his father, he is invariably styled, in the domestic accounts, "the Lord James." He had not yet acquired the name and style bestowed upon him by the covenanting ministers of the gospel,—"That excommunicated traitor, bloody butcher, and viperous brood of Satan, James Graham." Lady Beatrix, born in 1615, is familiarly designated by the factor, in his accounts, "the bairn Beatrix;"[1] and judging by the following letter from the Earl, which we merely divest of its antiquated orthography, she appears to have been a special object of regard. It is addressed from his castle of Mugdock in Strathblane, to his factor of Kincardine in Strathearn.

[1] Lady Beatrix was baptized at Perth, by the Bishop of Dunblane, on the 7th of March 1615, as appears from the existing register there. I have not discovered any such direct record of the birth or baptism of our hero, or his other sisters. But their relative ages are ascertained from marriage-contracts.

" Laurence Graham,

" I doubt not but you have been careful in causing haste the making of my daughter Beatrix her gown, as I directed you. I have sent this bearer, Harry Blackwood, to bring her to me, as he will shew you. It is my will also, that the tapestry in my upper chamber in Kincardine be taken down, and packed well, to come to me at Mugdock. I have sent Margaret Stirling and Robert Taylor word to be careful of it, which you shall see well done ; and send a good carriage horse with it, with all expedition ; and send Robert Taylor to convoy it. Farther, it is my will that you deliver to Harry Blackwood eight bolls of meal, and four stone of cheese. From Mugdock, the 28th July 1625. MONTROSE.

" I have directed, as I told you that I would do, my two gray hackneys to be put to the grass in Kincardine ; and have directed Robert Mailer to wait on them. So, you shall answer him his boll (of meal) according to use and wont.

" To our servitor Laurence Graham, factor of Kincardine,
These."

The monotonous and innocent country life of this thrifty nobleman, affords a striking contrast to the stormy and tragical fate of his immediate successor. He was possessed of various great baronies, in the counties of Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, and Forfar ; and noble castles of feudal strength, all destined, in the next generation, to be the prey of " the Troubles." The factor's books indicate overflowing granaries, and wide spread domains. One book records " the corn-yards of Kincardine, Old Montrose, and Maritoun ;" and the crops, teinds, and feudal duties " *of all the baronies*, Oldmarok, and Easter Mugdock, Dundaff, Bairdrell, Kincardine, Fosswell, Aberuthven, the Holiland, Old Montrose, Maritoun and Fullerton." From the same unquestionable source we derive the information, that he had many oxen for his ploughs, consumed many puncheons of wine, and tobacco and tobacco-pipes to a great extent. It is recorded of the heroic Marquis, by a contemporary chronicler, that he could not endure the smell of tobacco, and that the covenanting clergy, taking advantage of this defect in his constitution, nearly smoked him to death in prison before they

hanged him. He had inherited no such weakness from his father. An ounce of tobacco cost the Earl thirteen shillings and fourpence *Scots*, on some occasions; and on others, seven shillings and sixpence; indicating that he tried various kinds. Whenever he rides he buys tobacco by the way; and wherever he goes he has tobacco sent to him. As for pipes, he purchases them by dozens at a time. In a word, his household accounts are bristling with tobacco-pipes, and redolent of the weed,—all expressly "for his Lordship." The smaller articles which compete with the above in the records of his domestic expenditure, are *golf-balls* and *bowstrings*. "Six bowstrings to my Lord," cost nine shillings; and "ane dozen goiff-balls to my Lord," three pounds. This last would seem to have been rather an expensive indulgence; as "the tailor that made ane *stand of claiths* to my Lord," is only paid four pounds. Thus, so far as the exterior man was concerned, the value of the old Earl, as he stood in a new suit, was not much beyond a dozen golf-balls. He wore black breeches; for there is an item of twenty-three shillings and sixpence for "linen for my Lord's black breiks." He sometimes wrote, as seven shillings goes "for ane pig full of ink to my Lord." He occasionally read, for six shillings is bestowed upon "the minister's man that brought books to my Lord *at command*." And that he was particular about his malt, may be inferred from the fact, that he paid twenty-three shillings "for ane white-wine puncheon to put March ale in." His table was largely supplied with the abundant game of his domains,—from deer to conies—from capercailzies to plovers; and four pounds at a time are expended "for powder and lead to *my Lord's gunner*."

Robert and Laurence Graham were his principal factors; Margaret Stirling one of his housekeepers. Harry Blackwood was his master of horse. Duncan Kay was one of several purveyors of wine. John Marshall supplied him with tobacco-pipes. Alexander Madden was his carpenter and blacksmith. Humphry Wilson his shoemaker. James Mylne made his bows; Patrick Lytsone his golf-balls; and Thomas Smythe at Aberuthven, shod all the horses when the family were inhabiting the castle of Kincardine.

To the simple records of that anvil, which was kept con-

stantly ringing with the shoeing of horses from the neighbouring castle of Kincardine, is due the merit of affording authentic indications of the infant chivalry of Montrose. There yet exists the blacksmith's account, dated 29th September 1620, containing an item "for twa gang of shoon *to Lord James's twa naigs*." At this time he had about completed his eighth year. The blacksmith's accounts are continued throughout successive years in the same style; and the constant shoeing of Lord James's horses indicates that he rode often, and rode hard, as undoubtedly he did for all the rest of his life.

Harry Blackwood had enough on his hands in this department. There was a "white horse of my Lord James's," familiar with the smithy of the barony. Also "the horse that Mr James Graham rode on,"—this personage being "the domestic servitour" of the young Lord. The anvil at Aberuthven was perpetually visited by the *gray mare*, the *gray courser*, the *gray hackney*, the *brown horse*, the *sorrel naig*, the *pockmanty naig*, and some illustrious animal of "my Lord's," always designated by the name of *Gray Oliphant*. That this was a haunt of the young Lord's is the less to be doubted, since we find the family Cyclops charging six shillings "for dressing of Lord James's *fensing swords*," in the year 1624, when he was just twelve years of age. The imagination is fond to picture the retired Earl, who thirty years before had endeavoured to pink the knight of Calder at the Salt Trone of Edinburgh, instructing in all the cunning of fence that son who, some twenty years later, was to strike the dishonoured claymore from the hand of the fearful Argyle. At the period of dressing his foils, the same sum is disbursed "to James Myln, for mending my Lord James's bow."

The Earl's solicitude about his daughter's frock, and the tapestry, bespeaks the widowed condition which had devolved such domestic concerns upon himself; and there is enough, even in that missive to his factor, to assure us that the fiery antagonist of Sir James Sandilands had subsided, in the course of thirty years, into a kindly and careful country gentleman. Immediately prior to those orders, he had been entertaining his friends in the castle of Kincardine, the principal residence of the family. We find him there in the previous month of

February, along with his son-in-law, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, and his kinsmen, Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, and John Graham of Killearn. In the month of March he takes horse for his place of Old Montrose, purchasing by the way tobacco, tobacco-pipes, golf-balls, and bowstrings. His sword is dressed at Brechin. From Old Montrose he proceeds to his ancient feudal hold of Mugdock in Stirlingshire; and sends, as we have seen, for his youngest daughter, "the bairn Beatrix," who had been left at Kincardine. Railways being then undreamt of, we may picture the little lady when transported from *Strathearn* to *Strathblane*, perched on a pillion behind Harry Blackwood, upon Gray Oliphant, accompanied with the "pockmanty naig," and Robert Taylor with the precious tapestry. At this time she had just completed her tenth year. We shall hear of her again, and of Kincardine, and Mugdock, and Old Montrose, in "the Troubles."

Through the medium of these domestic papers, we are made acquainted with the tutor, the valet, and the two pages of Lord James; but no signs are to be discovered of the presence of a governess, or duenna, to guide and guard the Earl's three unmarried and motherless daughters.

The Countess, as we have said, died in the month of April 1618. On the 15th April 1619, the anniversary of her funeral, is dated the marriage-contract between her second daughter, Lady Margaret Graham, and Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston, soon afterwards created Lord Napier. This nobleman is so completely identified with Montrose in all his career,—his guardian and counsellor in youth—his friend and fellow-sufferer in after years,—that a preliminary account of him is essential to the story.

Archibald Napier was the only son of John Napier of Merchiston, the Newton of Scotland, by his first spouse, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir. After seventeen years of faithful service as gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to James VI., he was deservedly appointed, by that monarch, Treasurer-Depute for Scotland, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and subsequently Lord Justice-Clerk. Charles I., who

also much esteemed him, and to whom he had been specially recommended by King James shortly before that monarch's death, created him a Baronet of Nova Scotia, and soon thereafter raised him to the peerage, as Lord Napier of Merchiston, by patent dated 4th May 1627. He was a member of the Privy Council of Scotland from 1615 to 1641, when the dominant church party there compelled King Charles to forego his services, and those of every Scottish statesman who evinced the slightest disposition to "divisive courses," a convenient term of the clerical faction for the paths of honour and patriotic loyalty. Charles himself informed Napier, that his father, King James, recommended him to the care of his successor; and accordingly he was the first Scotchman upon whom the martyr monarch conferred a peerage. When, in the previous reign, he was appointed to the office of Treasurer-Depute, under the Earl of Mar, the King himself wrote in terms of the highest praise of his character and dispositions. In those days it was indeed no slight commendation from the Sovereign, to say of a Scotch statesman, that he was "free of partiality or any factious humour." That James had so declared of Sir Archibald Napier to the Earl of Mar, we learn from that nobleman's reply, dated from Holyrood House 24th November 1622. "I received," he said, "your Majesty's letter, of the 21st October, shewing that you have made choice of Sir Archibald Napier to be Treasurer-Depute of this Kingdom, with the motives moving your Majesty to take this course: Since your Majesty hath so resolved, I shall in all humility obey your direction. As for the gentleman, he is known to be both judicious and honest; and, as your Majesty writes in your own letter, free of partiality or any factious humour; and I, with all my heart, do wish that all your Majesty's subjects were as free of *these two faults* as I hope time shall make known to your Majesty that both he and I are: in which respect your Majesty hath made a good choice."

These two national faults, to which indeed may be traced the destruction of the public peace, and the ruin of Charles the First, rather than to those defects in the monarch's character as a Sovereign, which doubtless rendered him an easier prey,—were soon experienced by Lord Napier himself, in all their unscrupulous virulence. The royal favours which he had so

well earned, gave rise to a miserable Court cabal, to effect his disgrace, headed by the selfish and mischievous Earl of Traquair. Through this storm, however, Napier's unflinching integrity bore him with safety and honour. Traquair's object was to drive him from the post of Treasurer-Depute, that he might obtain it for himself; and most discreditable were the means by which he attempted to gain his end. Napier, while referring to this petty conspiracy, in a relation which he left, in manuscript, of the boiling temper of the times that ushered in the troubles,—affords a passing but interesting allusion to the untimely death of his wife, the sister of Montrose. "There was nothing," he says, "I more desired in my secret thoughts, than to be fairly rid of that place, long before my troubles: for after my wife died—a woman religious, chaste, and beautiful, and my chief joy in this world—I had no pleasure to remain in Scotland, having had experience of the chief of Council and Session; and of *their manners*, to which I would never fashion myself; and considering the place I held could never be profitable to a man who had resolved fair and direct dealing." An original portrait of this lady, by Jameson, is still in possession of her descendant, Lord Napier. The complexion is very fair; and the hair red; but the countenance does not belie the mournful tribute of conjugal affection which we have quoted above. Lady Margaret appears to have died not very long after the date upon her portrait, which is 1626.

But the most interesting testimony to the character of her husband, and the most germain to the matter in hand, has been preserved to us by Wishart, the celebrated historiographer of Montrose, who was much domesticated with Lord Napier, and intimately acquainted with all his family. He notices the death of that nobleman, immediately after the defeat at Philiphaugh, in these emphatic terms, which we quote from the English edition of his history of Montrose's actions, printed at the Hague while Montrose himself was there in exile. Moreover, it may he said, that this eulogy received the hero's dying *imprimatur;* for it occurs in that well known volume, which, under the barbarous delusion of degrading him, his clerical tormentors decreed should be bound to his person on the scaffold.

"I did not," said the hero with his latest breath, "feel more honoured when his Majesty sent me the Garter."

"About this time," Wishart records, "the Lord Napier of Merchiston departed this life in Athole; a man of a most innocent life, and happy parts; a truly noble gentleman, and chief of an ancient family; one who equalled his father and grandfather, Napiers—philosophers and mathematicians famous through all the world—in other things, but far excelled them in his dexterity in civil business; a man as faithful, and as highly esteemed by King James and King Charles: Sometime he was Lord Treasurer, and was deservedly advanced into the rank of the higher nobility; and since those times had evinced so much loyalty, and love to the King, that he was a large partaker of the rewards which the rebels bestowed upon virtue—frequent imprisonment, sequestrations, and plunder: This man, Montrose, when a boy, looked upon as a most tender father; when he was a youth, as a most sage admonitor; when he was a man, as a most faithful friend; and now that he died, was no otherwise affected by his death than as if it had been his own father's."

Very different was the fate of Montrose's eldest sister, Lady Lilias Graham, married to Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, on the 6th of July 1620, the year after the marriage of her immediately younger sister Lady Margaret. It is shortly recorded by all the genealogical and heraldic writers, in their account of the family of Luss, that the husband of Lady Lilias was a Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, distinguished for his loyalty to Charles I., and who was persecuted by Cromwell accordingly. But a disreputable father is here confounded with his loyal son of the same name. The former, of whom we now speak, has been entirely lost sight of (and there was good reason for doing so), except in the fact that he married the eldest sister of Montrose. Sir Alexander Colquhoun, father of the husband of Lady Lilias, resigned part at least of his family estates in favour of his eldest son, some years before that marriage. Two members of a prior generation of this ancient and wealthy race, were disposed of in a summary and tragical manner. Robert Birrell notes in his diary, that, "upon the last of November 1592, John Colquhoun was beheaded at the

Cross of Edinburgh, for murdering of his own brother, the laird of Luss." The husband of Lady Lilias was served heir to his father on the 15th of June 1625; and in the month of August of that year, Charles I. created him a baronet of Nova Scotia. A few years afterwards, however, he proved utterly unworthy of the favours bestowed upon him; and disgraced himself, and all connected with him, by a crime of the deepest dye, committed against the noble house which had received him as a son. This deplorable event must be presently narrated; meanwhile we proceed with the history of Montrose's childhood.

From the time of the marriage of his two eldest sisters, when he was between eight and nine years of age, to the period of his being placed at his private studies in Glasgow, when he had about attained the age of twelve, Montrose appears to have been constantly with his father, dwelling from time to time in various beautiful districts of Scotland. The romantic scenes thus rendered familiar to his boyhood, it was his fate, in after years, to visit with fire and sword. Lord Napier, too, besides his estates in the Lothians, inherited one-fourth of that vast district be-north the Forth, then known as the Lennox; and Colquhoun of Luss was a great proprietor on the banks of Loch Lomond. Amid all these glorious and storied hills, and glens, and lakes of Scotland, the boy Montrose was reared; and in the healthful enjoyment of such scenes, the frame of the warrior, and the genius of the troubadour, acquired the first elements of their vigour and romance. Two months after the marriage of Lady Lilias to the Laird of Luss, it appears that the Earl her father paid them a marriage visit, at their chief seat of Rossdhu, on the banks of Loch Lomond; and as "the Lord James's two nags" are sent along with the Earl's horses to the smith at Aberuthven, to be prepared for a journey, "before his Lordship rode to Rosedo," 29th September 1620, probably the boy had accompanied his father.

But the familiar homesteads of Montrose, where the family, in his father's time, was at various seasons domesticated throughout the year, were the castle of Kincardine in Strathearn, Perthshire; the castle of Mugdock in Strathblane, Stirlingshire;

" the place" of Old Montrose in Forfarshire; and the place of Garscube in Dumbartonshire.

The first mentioned, a castle of great extent and strength, was beautifully situated on the picturesque glen of Kincardine, overlooking a richly wooded and watered ravine of the Ruthven, which runs into the Earn. It stood a siege against the rebel army under Middleton, the defence being maintained, with most inadequate resources, for fourteen days, by Montrose's nephew, the Master of Napier; and when reduced on that occasion, was utterly destroyed by fire, on the 16th of March 1646. The lands had been acquired from the Earls of Strathearn so early as 1236, and Kincardine Castle was the chief seat of the Montrose family for upwards of four centuries.

The castle of *Mugdock*, commanding a lake of the same name, was another ancient and stately feudal strength of the Grahams. The lands of Strathblane and Mugdock were obtained, at a very early period, from Maldwin Earl of Lennox, and formed part of the great territory of " the Levenax." According to the contemporary Spalding, the covenanting government, when in search of materials wherewith to found an accusation against Montrose in 1641, " demolishit his staitlie house of Mugdock."

The place of *Old Montrose* fared no better in the Troubles. This was situated across the bay from the burgh of Montrose. Its ancient orthography was " Ald Monros,"—*mons rosarum*,—possessed by the family in 1360, and erected into an Earldom in 1504.

The place of *Garscube*, in Dumbartonshire, situated on the banks of the Kelvin, though not of the same importance as the feudal and baronial residences above noticed, was no doubt a mansion of the family, in which Earl John had an establishment, and occasionally resided, when Montrose was a youth. Whether the house was destroyed during the Troubles we know not; but the characteristic fate of the estate of Garscube was, that in the reign of Charles II., it had become the property of John Campbell of Succoth, the law-agent of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyle, his chief, upon whom he waited on the scaffold. Montrose is bitterly accused of having desolated

Scotland, by carrying fire and sword through the possessions of the great baronial enemies of the Crown. But the utter destruction of his own domains was obviously involved in the only system of warfare which, in those days, could be adopted with effect. In his extraordinary career of victory, he traversed like a meteor, the romantic districts in which his happier boyhood had disported and delighted; but severely as it was his lot to deal with the Arcadia of Scotland, that he was gifted with a poet and a painter's feeling for the picturesque in scenery, we may gather even from a wild descriptive verse, in his famous ballad to an imaginary mistress. It was suggested probably by some phase of the scenes which, throughout his short but eventful career, had been presented to him under all the various aspects of sunshine and storm, vernal bloom, and blood:—

"The misty mounts, the smoking lake,
The rock's resounding echo,
The whistling winds, the woods that shake,
Shall all with me sing *hey-ho!*
The tossing seas, the tumbling boats,
Tears dripping from each oar,
Shall *tune* with me their *turtle* notes,—
I'll never love thee more."

CHAPTER II.

MONTROSE PLACED UNDER PRIVATE TUITION AT GLASGOW.—HIS DOMESTIC ESTABLISHMENT THERE.—HIS FIRST PEDAGOGUE.—HIS BOOKS AND STUDIES.—DEATH AND FUNERAL OF HIS FATHER.

MONTROSE'S surviving parent had wisely judged that a life of riding, fencing, golfing, and archery, at home, was not sufficient or safe training for a young nobleman of so forward a spirit as this sole hope of his direct male line; and, accordingly, we find, from the family papers, that he had placed the boy, when twelve years of age, under private tuition at Glasgow. His domestic establishment there consisted of a tutor, or "pedagog," as he is termed, two young pages, and a valet, or "domestic servitor." The intention, doubtless, was to prepare him for an University, to which we shall afterwards trace him. The Montrose family, at this time, it would seem, possessed no habitation of their own in Glasgow, as the young Lord was established in part of a large mansion belonging to Sir George Elphinstone of Blythwood, Lord Justice-Clerk, who had succeeded Lord Napier in that office, when Peers ceased to be Ordinary Lords of Session. This habitation is described, in the receipts for rent, as "part of our great lodging, with the pertinents, situated in the city of Glasgow, near the Town-head thereof, presently possessed by my Lord Graham and his servitors." This great lodging, probably, had been one of the manses of the canons or prebendaries of the Cathedral. No trace now remains of a building which had the honour of being inhabited by Montrose for eighteen months of his boyhood.

The name of his *pedagogue* was "Master William Forrett." Besides directing his studies, he held the young Lord's purse, and settled his accounts. The title of "Master," well known

in Scotland, and which he invariably superadded to his signature, indicates his college status as Master of Arts. Nothing could be more accurate and precise than the official transactions of our hero's Dominie Sampson. The following extract from one of his accounts of disbursements, is interesting, because of the particulars it affords, and also from its reference to a younger sister of Montrose, whose early and deplorable fate we must presently record. Master William Forrett thus accounts for the expenditure of £26 entrusted to him:—

"For contenting the persons underwritten; to-wit, James Ogilvy, tailor, for making two suits of apparel to my Lord Graham; the one, upon the last of February 1625, at his return from Kincardine Castle to Glasgow; the other, on the 26th of May, the same year: For the two suits six pounds (Scots), as his discharge bears; and for satisfying James Snodgras, *cordonner*, for furnishing my Lord Graham, and his sister *Lady Katherine Graham*, with his two pages, *Willy and Mungo Graham*, betwixt the last of February 1625, at his return to Glasgow, and the 20th of July the same year of God, during the said space, *sixteen pairs of shoon*,—at 20 shillings the pair, is sixteen pounds,—as his discharge bears: and for payment to Ronald Luife, wright, for making a press to keep the napery and linen clothes, and other furniture of the house, fourteen pounds, as his discharge bears; which completeth the twenty-six pounds, viz. six pounds to the *tailor*, sixteen pounds to the *cordonner*, and four pounds to the *wright*."

The very dress of the boy Montrose is displayed to us in these primitive accounts, which are yet as entire and distinct as on the day they were written, though a vast sea of troubles and revolutions roll between. In 1625, *ætatis* thirteen, he had his "stand of mixed gray English cloth clothes, and a cloak with pasments:" also his "stand of mixed pargone clothes, and a cloak:" moreover, his "stand of green camlet clothes, and a cloak, with pasments."[1] His pages were clothed in red, and

[1] *Pasments* appear to have been some mode of embroidering the clothes of the nobility, or of those who affected such condition, which occasionally excited the indignation of the Kirk. The General Assembly of 1575, declared "all kind of costly sewing, or of *pasments*, or sumptuous and *large steeking with silks*," to be "unseemly;" as also, that the colours, red, blue, yellow, and such like, "declare

furnished with cloaks and gowns. Moreover, he was allowed a moderate stud. Master William Forrett, and the domestic servitor, James Graham, were both mounted. The young Lord himself rode a white horse. Verily there was a time when the city of Glasgow regarded with admiration and interest, unmingled with one prophetic alarm, the going forth and returning of "that viperous brood of Satan," in the shape of a young and gentle cavalier, on a white courser. There are various discharges from other tradesmen, such as, "for supplying my Lord Graham's house in Glasgow with *manchots*,[1] and oatmeal baked in bread; and barrels of herring, at twelve pounds each barrel."

We can even follow the ingenuous youth into his apartments, as yet unconscious of the "bloody murderer and excommunicated traitor." We see his "red chamber counter-cloth;" his "green counter-cloth, for the hall board;" his green chamber counter-cloth;" his "red *figurato* curtains;" his "red embroidered counterpane;" his "yellow curtains, and yellow counterpane, sewed with red;" his "two cushions of Arras work;" his "cushion of green velvet;" his "red embroidered cushion;" and "his brown velvet *kirk* cushion." Little knew the then reluctantly kneeling Kirk who was kneeling there!

For his table, he had "one plain silver cup;" and "another cup of *dimpilit* work, double over gilt." He had "eight silver spoons with the *knaps* thereof gilt." He had "a silver *satfatt* of raised work, of one tyre height, with lid, double over gilt." He was well supplied with napkins and table-cloths of various sizes, and different degrees of fineness; and his bedding, sheets and blankets, and ordinary household utensils, all enumerated, indicate an establishment suited at once to his rank, his years, and the object of his residence in Glasgow.

We may take for granted, that the studies of a youth thus

the lightness of the mind." So Rutherford, in his letters, complained, that "the world's glistering lustres, and those broad *pasments* and *buskings* of religion, that bear bulk in the kirk, is that wherewith most satisfy themselves." The act of James VI., 1581, c. 113, prohibited all below the rank of Peers of Parliament, or landed gentlemen of a certain income, from using or wearing in their clothing, the costly materials therein named, or "*pasments* or *broiderie* of gold, silver, or silk."

[1] *Manchet*, a loaf of fine bread.

systematically removed from the enticements of home, and placed with a household so carefully and judiciously regulated, would be provided for with no less care and judgment. There is unquestionable evidence that he had become attached to classic authors, and was fond of quoting them. In another less peaceful chapter of his life, we shall have to record an interesting trait of his enduring affection for, and perfect reliance in, " Master William Forrett." We find no particular register of his studies at this time; but he appears to have been supplied with a small library; and judging from the following specimen, and the incident to be immediately noticed, of his special attachment to Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, the boy must have been gifted with a vigorous and precocious mind, of an enquiring turn, and a romantic tendency.

Some months after his father's death, and when the young Earl had shifted his head-quarters to the University of St Andrews, where we shall presently follow him, his faithful dominie renders, with his usual precision and accuracy, an account of certain effects of his pupil, which had been committed to his charge. " I grant me," says Master William Forrett, " to have in keeping a *gilded sword*, which my Lord got from my Lord Napier; with a *silk and silver scarff*, which my Lord got from his late noble father, with a *belt and hangers;* and a *cross-bow set with mother of pearl;* with the key of my Lord's trunk in Glasgow; and the *silver work* and *plenishing*, which are in James Duncan's house in Glasgow; which I oblige myself to deliver in time convenient, upon my Lord's sufficient warrant and discharge; As for the *brazen hagbut*, it was sent to his Lordship at St Andrews, with John Margat, which his Lordship received: As for the *history written by Sir Walter Raleigh*, my Lord himself conveyed it to St Andrews, at his Lordship's first thither going: And as for those books which I had *in borrowing of his Lordship in this town*, I have delivered the same to the Laird of Inchbraikie."

Thus it appears, that the worthy pedagogue had borrowed from his illustrious pupil a variety of books, which he places in the hands of Patrick Graham, elder of Inchbrakie, accompanied by the following list:—" *In primis*, two volumes of Sabellicus'

Universal History, *in Latin;* Camerarius, his Living Library; A Treatise of the Orders of Knighthood; The Life and Death of Queen Mary; Godfrye de Bulloigne his History; The History of Zenophone, *in Latin;* The works of Seneca, with Lipsius' Commentary."

This curious mixture of learned and romantic study had formed part of a selection made by the old Earl, to compose the library of his son in Glasgow; and of these and the other effects in his hands, Inchbrakie had required an account from the tutor, adding, at the end of his memorandum, "and *specially* Sir Walter Raleigh's history." Hence this last had been particularly accounted for (and the trait is not unimportant), by the fact, that the youth had taken possession of it himself, and carried it to St Andrews, when he first joined that celebrated University. The circumstance is the more remarkable, that he had left behind, in the keeping of his pedagogue, articles which might have been supposed more apt to engross his attention and personal care at this time; the gilded sword, namely, which had been presented to him by Lord Napier, the first, probably, of any importance acquired by Montrose; the silk and silver scarf, the gift of his deceased parent; his brazen hagbut, and his mother-of-pearl cross-bow.

It was in the month of August 1627, ten months after his pupil had succeeded to the Earldom, that Master William Forrett delivered the books above mentioned into the hands of Graham of Inchbrakie, one of the young nobleman's curators, in the castle of Kincardine; for the tutor notes that he there "delivered to the Laird of Inchbrakie, upon the 9th of August 1627, *my Lord's books*, the names whereof followeth particularly." This was Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, father of Patrick Graham whose soubriquet was "black Pate," and which last was the sole companion of our hero when, in 1644, he arrived "in Highland weed" from his concealment among the hills, to raise the royal standard in Athole. Inchbrakie, elder, notes, that "the books above written were, at the instant time of the receipt thereof, put in my Lord's chamber by me; and thereafter put in my Lord his Lordship's cabinet by me, *his Lordship then being present.*" There is something in all this precision which betokens, not merely a curator's attention to the minor's affairs, but no

slight degree of interest taken by the youth himself in the scanty but important library thus cared for. Marcus Sabellicus was an Italian historian and critic of the fifteenth century; Joachim Camerarius, a learned and voluminous writer on natural history, of the sixteenth century; the history of the life, death, and variable fortunes of Mary Queen of Scotland, was published in London, in folio, 1624, by William Strangvage; Fairfax's translation of Tasso's Godfrey of Bulloigne, "with the life of the said Godfrey," was also published there in 1600 and 1624; the commentaries on the works of Seneca, mentioned in the above list, were by Justus Lipsius, a very learned critic of the sixteenth century; and as for Sir Walter Raleigh's history, it must have been that goodly folio, a History of the World, part first, extending to the end of the Macedonian Empire, which appeared in 1614, the other editions having all been published subsequently to the death of Montrose. Some of these volumes, it is probable, had been studied more by the tutor than the pupil; but that the youth, on his first entry at college, had carried with him there, as the treasure he was least inclined to part with, Sir Walter Raleigh's time honoured history—the wonder of its age, written under circumstances of distress and oppression that might well have paralysed the stoutest pen—is a trait not to be mistaken. We shall meet with other evidences that the seeds of learning and love of letters, had been deeply sown in the mind of Montrose; and though destined never to spring, they were ever struggling with the stormy fortunes of the young warrior, whose smothered genius could emit a flash which has not yet faded from the literary horizon,—

> "But if thou wilt prove faithful then,
> And constant of thy word,
> I'll make thee *glorious* by my pen,
> And *famous* by my sword;
> I'll serve thee in such noble ways
> Was never heard before,
> I'll crown and deck thee all with bayes,
> And love thee more and more."

In the above details we have anticipated, by a few months, the breaking up of the young Lord's establishment at Glasgow, which seems to have been in consequence of the unexpected

death of his father, at Kincardine castle on the 14th of November 1626. The Earl could not have been far advanced in years, at the time he died, seeing that the exploit of his youth, at the "Salt Tron" of Edinburgh, already noted, had occurred only about thirty years before. By means of the family papers, we can trace him to within three months of his decease, in the careful management of his domestic affairs, as usual, and issuing precepts to his factors, for the payment of Lord Graham's expenses at Glasgow. It also appears that he was in the act of establishing his only son in the fee of all his baronies, by an arrangement then very common among the distinguished families of Scotland, when death issued his precept that John fourth Earl of Montrose should be gathered to his fathers. The evidence for this fact is interesting, as it affords the earliest indication of Charles the First having bestowed his countenance upon the young nobleman, whose destinies came to be so sadly identified with his own. On the 14th of November, 1626, the King issues this mandate, from Whitehall, to his Treasurer in Scotland:—

"Whereas we are credibly informed, that the Earl of Montrose is to put his son in fee of his whole lands, we have thought good—in respect of the many good services done unto our late dear father, and to us, by the said Earl—by these presents to require you to receive his said son our immediate tenant in the said lands, and give way to his infeftment, that it may be expede through our seals, according to this order, with all expedition," &c. But the very day on which this bears to have been signed by His Majesty at Whitehall, happened to be that of the Earl's demise, at his castle in Strathearn; and accordingly, this fact being made known to the King, another mandate issues from Whitehall, dated 27th November 1626, and addressed to the Exchequer in Scotland, in these terms:—

"In regard of the long and faithful service done unto our late dear father of worthy memory, and to us, by the late Earl of Montrose, and being willing ever, after the deaths of our well deserving subjects, to gratify their heirs—and specially those who are born to so noble and ancient families—with any such favour as may be lawfully bestowed upon them by us, there-

fore, understanding that the ward and marriage[1] of the now Earl of Montrose is at our gift and disposition,—our pleasure is, that you pass and expede a gift thereof unto him, in due and competent form, without any compositions; to the end that he may fully enjoy the benefit arising thereby."

The young Earl had been at least two days in the castle of Kincardine before his father's death; and a singular document among the family papers, being a very minute account of the household expenses at the time of the funeral, affords some precise and curious information even in the title of it. It bears to be:—

"The *Dyet*, and ordinary expenses, of *Lord James's Household in Kincardine*, beginning the 12th day of November 1626, and continuing to Monday the 8th of January 1627, when his Lordship rode from Kincardine to Kilbryde; my Lord of worthy memory, his Lordship's father, deceasing in Kincardine on Tuesday the 14th of November 1626; his Lordship being present in Kincardine *the whole space*, accompanied with his Lordship's honourable friends: The burial was *accomplished* the 3d of January; and the whole friends remained in Kincardine thereafter, settling his Lordship's affairs, till Sunday the 7th of January: The expenses as follows, extending to eight weeks."

The ceremony of the old Earl's interment beside his Countess, in the ancient family vault at Aberuthven, is not detailed, but it must needs have been solemn and stately, since it took nineteen days to accomplish it. Among the friends assembled with the youthful heir in his old ancestral halls, upon this occasion, were, John Earl of Wigton, Montrose's cousin-german, his mother being Lady Lilias Graham, the only sister of the departed Earl: Lord Napier, Montrose's brother-in law: His other brother-in-law, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss: Sir William Graham of Braco, only brother to the deceased Earl: Sir Robert Graham of Morphie: Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, (great-grandfather of Dundee): David Graham of Fintrie: John Graham of Orchill: Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie: and John Graham

[1] Feudal casualties exigible by the monarch from crown vassals on such occasions, and remitted to the young Montrose, in the above mandate, by favour of his Sovereign.

of Balgowan,—all these Grahams representing distinguished branches of the House. These were the noblemen and gentlemen whom the young chief of the Grahams immediately assumed as his curators. That they were all together in the castle of Kincardine, and were the friends to whom the Dyet of the burial refers, is proved by their signatures attached to precepts relating to the minor's affairs, of that date.

If they mourned, they did not fast. If they grieved, their grief was not dry. The peaceful death, and most social burial, of the father, contrasts so strangely with the stormy and fearful exit of the son, only twenty four years thereafter, that we cannot forbear pausing on the scene. There were others present besides those enumerated above; and they appear to have arrived, each bearing a contribution to the dainties of the larder, as if congregating to a pic-nic feast, instead of a funeral. There was "presented by my Lord Stormont two birsall fowls, six partridges, and twelve plovers;" and among those who paid homage at this, we can scarcely call it melancholy meeting, we find the names of some who, ere long, were at war to the knife with the head of the house of Graham. There was "presented by the *laird of Lawers*, a black cock, five muirfowls, and the fourth of a hynd;" and, "presented by *Glenorquie* a great hynd." These, however, were merely by way of compliment. Provisions of all kinds, beef, mutton, lamb, veal, hams, capons, geese, and other poultry, and game of every description, were purchased for the occasion, in great abundance. Of the latter, the "wild meat," as it is picturesquely termed in the records of this noble pantry,—we may, for the benefit of the curious, note the comparative values, all entered of course in pounds, shillings, and pence, *Scots*. Twenty-eight muirfowls cost ten shillings a piece; while twelve ptarmigan, were only eight shillings a piece; five black cocks and heath hens cost eighteen shillings a piece; and two *capercailzies* are set down at three pounds four shillings; partridges are thirteen shillings and four pence a piece; wild geese, twenty-six shillings and eight pence, a piece; plovers, ten shillings a brace; while woodcocks are only eight shillings a piece, the same price as ptarmigan. Whatever may have happened before, we may venture to say, that so rich a bill of fare has never been produced in Scotland,

in these degenerate days, upon any one occasion either of mourning or of feasting. The records of the pantry, the wine cellar, the ale cellar, the larder, and the "pettie larder"—which last was composed of cheese, butter, eggs, candles, herrings, spices, and confectionery, are all minutely kept; and the great abundance and variety considered, we are not surprised to find that it took eight weeks to "accomplish" this lordly consignment of earth to earth, and the subsequent "sattling of my Lord's affairs." The "claret wine," and the "white wine" is reckoned by puncheons; and there could hardly have been a single tear for every bucket of "Easter Ale" with which the stately castle of Kincardine appears to have been inundated, when the last Earl of Montrose who bore that title at his decease, was gathered to his fathers in the mausoleum of Aberuthven.

"Absumet hæres Cæcuba dignior,
Servata centum clavibus, et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbo
Pontificum potiore cœnis."

"Then shall thy greater heir discharge
And set the imprisoned casks at large,
And dye the floor with wine,
So rich and precious, not the feasts
Of Pontiffes cheer their ravished guests
With liquor so divine."

FRANCIS.

CHAPTER III.

COLLEGE LIFE OF MONTROSE, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS, AFTER THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER.—HIS OCCUPATIONS AT HOME.—HIS EDUCATION AND HABITS CONTRASTED WITH MR MACAULAY'S PICTURE OF THOSE OF ENGLISH GENTLEMEN OF THE SAME PERIOD.—MARRIAGE OF HIS SISTER LADY DOROTHEA.—HIS ALARMING ILLNESS AT COLLEGE.—MODE AND MEANS OF LIVING CONTRASTED WITH MR MACAULAY'S IDEA OF SCOTLAND AT THE PERIOD.

On the 8th of January 1627, the young Earl of Montrose rode from Kincardine to Kilbryde. So says the circumstantial record of the *Dyet of the Burial.* Kilbryde Castle in Perthshire, an ancient seat of the Campbells, was that in which the conqueror of the clan made his first appearance from home, after succeeding to his Earldom. This, however, was only a temporary excursion; for he returned forthwith, and commenced another *dyet* at his own castle in Strathearn. Among these family papers, we find "the dyet and ordinary expenses of my Lord's house, beginning on Monday the 8th of January 1627, to Tuesday the 23d of January, when his Lordship dined in Kincardine, *and rode to St Andrews;* his Lordship being accompanied the said space with Braco, Inchbrakie, and sundry of his Lordship's friends." Sir William Graham of Braco, only brother of the late Earl, appears to have been active in the management of his nephew's household affairs at this time. While Inchbrakie is looking after the young Lord's books, Braco is paying the baker's bills incurred by the deceased to Robert Henrison, baker in Stirling, for "furnishing his Lordship's houses in *Kincardine* and *Garscuib*" with flour, amounting to an hundred and five pounds *Scots.*

The discovery of these domestic accounts afforded the first intimation, in modern times, of Montrose having been educated at the college of St Andrews. As appears by the above, "his

first going there," when he carried with him the cherished folio, was on Tuesday the 23d of January 1627. This led to a search of the records of that University, by which it was ascertained that he was duly installed on the 26th of January 1627. Among the *Nomina Incorporatorum* of that date, we find "*Jacobus Gramus, Comes Monterouse.*" Worthy "Maister William Forrett" was paid off with the sum of "four hundred merks money," wherewith he declared himself "completely payit;" and the young Earl, certainly without any loss of time, was consigned to the academic care of a Regent at St Andrews, being at this time fourteen years of age. In the following month of March, however, he arrived in Edinburgh for the purpose of being served heir to his father, and invested in his baronial possessions, upon which occasion we find him in conjunction with a redoubtable character, his lawyer, "Mr Thomas Hop." The future Lord Advocate of the Troubles did not suspect that he was assisting to establish in his paternal honours and power, that limb of Satan whom the Kirk was ere long to characterise in such scurrilous terms. Under the simple designation of *Maister Thomas Hop* does this celebrated worthy emerge on the scene of Montrose's private life. We shall meet with him more than once in the progress of our story.[1]

The home of the youthful Earl in Edinburgh, upon the occasions when he came there from college, was with Lord and Lady Napier. Lady Margaret, when her husband was absent at Court, took some charge of her young brother, and her signature is attached to various family papers connected with the management of the minor's expenditure. In the spring of 1627, having accomplished his service and investitures, he returned to St Andrews. Before his departure, however, there is expended, "for *books* to my Lord, Claverhouse being present, nineteen pounds four shillings—*item* more, for a *Greek grammar* to my Lord—three pounds ten shillings." On the day of his service, the macers, before whom that ceremony took place,

[1] Thomas Hope of Craighall, was created a baronet on the 11th February 1628; and in the month of April thereafter, Charles I. appointed him to the office of his Majesty's Advocate. He had previously been joined therein with Sir William Oliphant, who, dying of the above date, Sir Thomas came to have no coadjutor in an office which, as a statesman, he so grossly abused.

were feasted at James Brown's, no doubt a recherché restaurateur of the day, and the cost of this service dinner was eight pounds ten shillings. There was also "given to Claverhouse, the day of my Lord's service, *ane pen of gold*, to take instruments with—fifty-three shillings and four pence:" Mr John Rollok is paid twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, for having drawn the act of curatory. The same amount of fee is bestowed upon Mr Thomas Hope, with the addition of three pounds six shillings and eight pence "to his man:" And "the keeper of the *Tollbooth door*,"—that Tolbooth which, after a few stormy years, was to be surmounted by the hero's head—obtains a gratuity of twenty-four shillings.

Nor was the *largesse* of this noble and knightly youth omitted at home. His young sister, Lady Dorothea, obtains from him a gratuity of precisely the amount of the Advocate's fee, namely, "to the Lady Dorathie, at my Lord's direction, twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence;" and moreover, "at my Lord's direction, to *the nurse*, and the servants in his Lordship's sister's (Lady Napier), six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence; *item*, to the coachman, three pounds six shillings and eight pence." [1]

Montrose's progress, on his return to St Andrews at this time, in the month of April 1627, is indicated by the sums noted for freight at the Queensferry and the water of Cramond, his supper and breakfast at Burntisland, and the expenses for extra horses with which Lady Napier had accommodated him, in addition to his own, "when my Lord went back to Sanctandrois."

In the following month of July, again he has holidays. The accounts of Laurence Graham, factor of Kincardine, bear, that there was "delivered by John Graham, to my Lord's Regent in Sanctandrois, now when my Lord left the College upon the 13th day of July 1627,—thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence;" and at the same time there is "given for a saddle to my Lord, with the covering, workmanship, and girths, seven pounds fifteen shillings." He departs with eclat, for the sum of six pounds eleven shillings is disposed of to the porter at

[1] All these accounts are of course in money *Scots*. The same sums in Sterling money would be twelve times more in value.

the College gate, " for wine and ale at my Lord's way-coming," and " to the poor at my Lord's *onloupine*" (mounting). On the 9th of August we find him in Edinburgh, signing precepts to his factors, along with his curators, Napier and Claverhouse; and at the close of the month, he is on the banks of Lochlomond with the Laird and Lady of Luss, and his other sisters.

A letter has been preserved, written from that place by his confidential servant James Graham,[1] who had attended him in Glasgow, to James Duncan, the factor of Mugdock, which cannot fail to interest the reader, as it relates to the great Marquis of Montrose when but fifteen years of age, though the subject be only " buits and schone." There is something, however, more graceful and gallant in the concomitant demand for " ane pair of *fyne weill favourit* ryding gloves," and " twa pair of *schevereins*." We may strip the letter of its antique orthography.

" Loving and assured friend:

" I doubt not but you have received the letter which I sent to you with Harry Blackwood's man, concerning the causing make boots and shoes to my Lord, as his Lordship directs me always; but as you were not in the town when I wrote to you before, in respect of the commodity of the bearer I have taken occasion to write these few lines to you, desiring you, most earnestly, to send my Lord's boots and shoes with the bearer, if possibly they can be ready. And if you cannot get both the boots and shoes ready to send with the bearer, I will desire you to send any of them that are ready so far. As I wrote to before, my Lord *has neither boots nor shoes that he can put on for the present.* As also, I will desire you, as I wrote to you before, to send here a pair of *fine well favoured riding gloves*, and two pair of *schevereins*,[2] to my Lord. So, having no further

[1] This James Graham was in the service of the late Earl, before attending the young Lord to Glasgow. The above order was not fulfilled until the 16th of September, by which time the young Earl was at his own place of Garscube; for the factor notes upon the letter:—" 16 of September, 1627, sends my Lord to *Garskube* ane pair of boitts at 6 ℔ 13s. 4d.; with twa pair schone, 3 ℔ and *drink siller* 12s.; ane pair ryding gluiffes, 16s.; twa pair scheverons 15s., with 2s. *drink siller; summa* 11 ℔ 18s. 4d."

[2] *Schevereins* probably mean *chevrons*, gloves of some other description.

for the present, my loving duty remembered to yourself and your bedfellow, I rest,

"Your most loving and assured friend,

"JAMES GRAHAM."

"ROSDO, the 2d of September, at night, 1627."

"To his loving and assured friend James Duncan, factor at Mugdock,—These."

"P.S.—If you can get any shoes that are made already, fit for the purpose, I will desire you to send them with the bearer."

Among the family papers there is a manuscript bearing this simple title, "Maister Johne Lambye's Compts;" being a detailed account of Montrose's expenditure throughout the years 1628 and 1629, until the progress of his studies was cut short by his very early marriage. This gentleman came to supply the place of "Maister William Forrett." He appears to have been a clerical character, and there is reason to believe that he was of the old Forfarshire family, L'Amy of Dunkenny. Sometimes we find him designed "purse-maister to my Lord," and in after years he seems to have filled for a time the post of his private secretary. These accounts, too, are kept with so much precision and minuteness of detail as to afford information such as we might derive from a personal diary; and they are the more valuable, as supplying not a little of what was an absolute blank in the biography of our hero, everything, namely, relating to his youth and education. Even the fact that he was educated at St Andrews, had entirely escaped observation; and lists of the great men, the honour of whose tuition the *Alma Mater* of Scotland can claim, have very recently been published, in which the name of Montrose is not to be found. In the absence even of traditionary traits of his youth, and comparing the short span of his allotted lifetime with the period occupied in performing those actions which attracted the attention of Europe, and excited the admiration of De Retz, it almost seemed as if the hero's rapid destinies had denied him a boyhood at all. Thus, one of the most striking and interesting characters in Scottish history, has hitherto been only known to us in his stormy and tragical apotheosis, as the self-devoted champion, the heroic martyr, isolated and undefined, the Hamlet of the Troubles.

By the acquisition of these family papers, however, we obtain some insight into the early formed habits, education, and youthful dispositions of the far-famed Marquis. Little did "Maister Johne Lambye," or the factors of Mugdock and Kincardine, suppose, that in keeping their accounts so carefully, they were in fact writing a most interesting chapter in the life of the good and great Montrose, which even his faithful chaplain had entirely omitted, and which was destined not to be discovered until two centuries after the hero's death. Now, for the first time, we find the gallant boyhood, of the cavalier *par excellence* of his age, mirrored, as it were, in these humble records of domestic expenditure; displaying, too, all the early promise of that chivalrous character, which united the energies of a warrior with the genius of a troubadour. We can trace him in his peregrinations, and in his pastimes, his studies, and his devotions. During term, his collegiate life is displayed to us, by glimpses of his habits in school and in chambers, and by more frequent and decided indications of his exercises in the field. In vacations, we can follow him from homestead to homestead, of the most hospitable and distinguished families in Scotland, many of which were the then happy country dwellings of the chief branches of his house, kinsmen whom he had chosen as his curators. We find him scattering charities and gratuities, with open hand and heart, wherever he goes; and occasionally receiving complimentary gifts of game, fruit, flowers, hawks, and dogs, significantly indicative of the extreme popularity of the young head of the house of Graham.

The picture is interesting, and not uninstructive. The socialities, and even refinements of domestic life in Scotland, so early as the first quarter of the seventeenth century, which are thus shadowed forth to us, cannot fail to impress the mind with sad and unexpected ideas, of a progress in the amenities of domestic life, no doubt difficult to imagine when looking across the fearful gulph of disorganization and misrule which overwhelmed the growing civilization of Scotland. From a fascinating but not unerring pen, we have a revolting portraiture of the landed proprietors in England "who witnessed the Revolution." The comparison would tempt us to believe, that

even at the commencement of the seventeenth century, Scotland, so poor, and so despised, was a century in advance. "The heir of an estate," says Mr Macaulay, in his History of England, "often passed his boyhood and youth at the seat of his family, with no better tutors than grooms and gamekeepers, and scarce attained learning enough to sign his name to a mittimus. If he went to school and to college, he generally returned before he was twenty to the seclusion of the old hall, and there, unless his mind were very happily constituted by nature, soon forgot his academical pursuits in rural business and pleasures. His chief serious employment was the care of his property. He examined samples of grain, handled pigs, and on market-days made bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop merchants. His chief pleasures were commonly derived from field sports, and from an unrefined sensuality."

Of a passion for field sports we cannot acquit the young Montrose. But by whatever "unrefined sensuality" the landed gentry of England, in the seventeenth century, were characterised, we can detect no symptoms of it, either in the college life or domestic habits of our hero, and his associates. In 1658, Saintserf, who knew him intimately, described him, when pursuing his great career, in terms which induce us to believe that the boy was a faithful index to the man. "Your glorious father," he says, (addressing the second Marquis), "whose spirit was so eminent, for speculation and for practice, that his *Camp* was an *Academy*, admirably replenished with discourses of the best and deepest sciences, whose several parts were strongly held up, under him the head, by those knowing, noble souls, the Earls of Kinnoul and Airley, the Lords Gordon, Ogilvy, Napier, and Maderty, and the two famous Spotiswoodes, Sir Robert and his nephew. This I am bold to mention, because such noble discourses banished from his quarters all obscene and scurrilous language, with all those offensive satirical reflections, which now are the only current wit among us; and if any such peeped forth in his presence, his severe looks told the speaker it was unwelcome; nor did this proceed from a narrowness in his heart, being, to all who knew him, one of the most munificent, as well as magnificent personages in the

world"[1] All the habits and pursuits of Montrose during his minority indicate the growth of such qualities, and the rearing of such a character. Even at St Andrews College he was the beau ideal of a young cavalier. His recreations were hunting, and hawking, horse-racing, archery, and golf; poetry and chess, heroic and romantic histories, and classics. Nor did he lack those attributes of the knightly character, the occasional wassail, and the frequent largesse. Strange that these old forgotten accounts should cast so sudden a gleam of sunshine upon the boyish days of Montrose. He whom the debauched Chancellor Loudon, abusing the security of that elevation, denounced as "a person most infamous, perjured, treacherous, and of all that ever this land brought fourth the most cruel and inhuman butcher and murtherer of this nation,"—was an accomplished, ardent, and generous youth.

In the month of April 1628, Montrose is discovered in Edinburgh, upon the occasion of the marriage of his sister Dorothea. At the death of their father, in 1626, Lady Lilias had taken into family with herself, at Luss, her two youngest sisters, Katherine and Beatrix. Lady Dorothea, elder than the two last named, and the one of the family immediately elder than Montrose, was at the same time adopted by her sister Lady Margaret, and so became a child of the family of Lord Napier. In less than two years thereafter, she was married to Sir James Rollo, knight, designed also laird of Duncruib. He was the eldest son of Sir Andrew Rollo of Duncruib, who was created Lord Rollo in 1651, more than twenty years after the marriage of his son. The feasting upon this occasion, which included, as usual, a great variety of "wild meat," was scarcely less than at the funeral of her father. It seems to have lasted from the 22d of April to the 29th, and the young Lord's expenditure during that period embraces the multifarious items of horses standing at livery; new spurs; new shoes; the "helping" (mending) of his hunting cap; bowstrings; to the poor at the ports (gates) of Edinburgh and Linlithgow; to the beadle of

[1] Epistle Dedicatory by Thomas Saintserf, Gent. to James 2d Marquis of Montrose, of his translation from the French of M. de Marmet's "Entertainments of the *Cours*, or Academical Conversations," 1658.

the West Kirk of Edinburgh, "for the testimonial of that church before the marriage of my Lord's sister; moreover, to the servants of my Lord Napier's house, at my Lord's departing after his sister's marriage;" and finally, "for Mr William Struther's Meditations." The items of spurs, hunting-cap, and bowstrings, were likely to interfere somewhat with Montrose's study of the meditations of that pious worthy, whom, in 1660, we find thus characterised by the covenanting Baillie:—"Mr William Struthers, born in our town, long chief minister of Edinburgh, I dare say the most eloquent and gracious preacher that ever yet lived in Scotland."

Thus was disposed of the Lady Dorothea Graham, to whom only ten years of married life were vouchsafed. Her untimely death is recorded by the Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour, in his Annals:—"The 16 of May, this year 1638, died Lady Dorothea Graham, third daughter to John Earl of Montrose, and wife to Sir James Rollock of Duncruib, knight, Perthshire; and by him had no issue: She was solemnly interred at the Abbey Church of Holyrood House, the 8th of June this same year."

Immediately after the ceremonial of her marriage, we find Lady Dorothea signing papers at Carnock, the seat of George Bruce, (father of the first two Earls of Kincardine), in the county of Fife. To that goodly dwelling and a rich, the marriage party had adjourned, including our hero, who remained there until the second of May. Some festivities appear to have been got up for the occasion. Montrose arrives at Carnock, with a retinue of servants and horses, on the last day of April; and the mood of his mind, and the tone of the merry meeting, is curiously indicated by the item of forty-six shillings "given to the *drummer and piper of Stirling*, who came to Carnock at my Lord's being there." Upon the 2d of May, he takes horse from Carnock, bestowing largely upon the servants at his departure; with a special gratuity of three pounds "to the Lady Carnock's *nurse*," and twelve shillings to another "*piper*, at my Lord's departing."

The young cavalier, ever in the saddle, now rides to Stirling, from whence he sends back two horses to Carnock, which he had borrowed from the bridegroom there, to aid his retinue. On the 4th of May he attends the parish church of his own

castle of Kincardine in Strathearn—the kirk of Blackford, when he bestows eight shillings upon the poor. He then establishes himself for a day or two at Orchill, the neighbouring seat of his kinsman and curator, John Graham. On the fifth of May he is "depursing," as usual, among the domestic servants, when quitting Orchill. On the seventh, we find him bestowing upon "the servants, and *nurse* in *Machanie*, another place in Strathearn, three pounds four shillings; moreover, to *ane pyper* there, six shillings." That morning, however, he again takes horse, and having replaced a shoe at Dunning, and baited at Newburgh in Fife, he reaches his college that night, there being expended three pounds two shillings "for my Lord's supper at night in St Andrews," on the 7th of May 1628.

Right glad must his faithful attendant and purse-bearer, "Maister John Lambye," have been to find himself established in academic repose again. It could be no sinecure accompanying young Rapid, during holidays, in all his equestrian peregrinations. If Lambye loved not the music of the pipes, he had much to endure. Upon many occasions, throughout the whole of these accounts, this characteristic feature of the young Earl's progresses, presents itself, that wherever he goes, whether to display himself in a country town, or to disport himself in a country house, bells, trumpets, pipes, drums, and fifes, are continually put in requisition, at his express command. His popularity among the *nurses* must have been great, as he never fails to fee them specially, in the hospitable mansions to which he paid these flying visits.

Not less welcome at college than in the friendly and familiar haunts through which we have traced him, no sooner is the young nobleman restored to the university, than "ane Hungarian poet," who probably was also an hungry poet, hails his advent with a commendatory ode. His own chaplain records of him, that Montrose was wont to amuse his leisure hours, few and far between, with the composition of poetical trifles, having a strong predilection for the muses, whom a sterner fate compelled him to abandon. So in these accounts we discover various indications of sympathy with the most humble votaries of the lyre. On the 12th of May 1628, at St Andrews, there is

"given, at my Lord's direction, to ane *Hungarian poet*, who made some verses to my Lord, fifty-eight shillings." Unfortunately these verses are not recorded. It would be interesting to know how and in what terms the Hungarian poet lauded the future hero when in his sixteenth year. Upon another occasion we find him bestowing eighteen shillings upon "ane *rymer* called Croter." No doubt fifty-eight shillings *scots* amounted to a trifle less than five shillings *sterling*. But when we discover twelve shillings (i. e. one shilling *sterling*) as the cost of a leg of mutton to be served at my Lord's table, we are cheered by the reflection that the hungry poet had five legs of mutton for his guerdon.

On the 19th of May our hero is hard at golf on the Links of St Andrews; but the 24th of that same month is noted as "the beginning of my Lord's sickness." For the last month the boy had been feasting like an Alderman, and riding like an Arab. The scene changes, and now he is disclosed to us in a sick chamber, passing through the phases of an alarming illness to luxurious convalescence, and cherished with various delicacies, bespeaking the well-cared for invalid; such as, chickens, jelly, sack and sugar, and possets, the daily purveyor of the same being "James Pett's dochter,"—that is to say, the daughter of the man who provided him with golf-clubs and bows. But the sick youth was not easily restored. On the 28th, Mr John Lambye becomes seriously alarmed, and goes in person to Dundee to fetch "Doctor Maal." For several days this medical gentleman was in close attendance. On the 30th of May, there is paid to him a fee of twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence, and immediately follows, as if it had been a prescription, "*Item*, penult of May, to the post for bringing a *chess-board* from Edinburgh, six shillings." He is still in attendance on the 3d of June, for, of that date, is noted the expense of "Doctor Maal's dyets," and another fee to him of thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence. The case assumes a graver aspect. A barber is sent for, who is required "to take off my Lord's hairs,"—those loyal locks of redundant auburn, which, even in his dying hour, he petted. Doctor Maal feeling unequal to the case, alone, calls in the aid of "Doctor Arnot," a leech, it would seem, of a loftier grade, as the fee to him is eighty pounds, be-

sides "more for Dr Arnot's diet in four days, and Doctor Maal with him, six pounds, sixteen shillings." The former seems to have prescribed cards, as his coadjutor had prescribed chess, for, immediately follows, "more, for ane suit of cards, six shillings." With the aid of the two doctors, the barber, chicken broth, jelly made of "capons and veels feet," liquorice, whey, possets, aleberry, and claret, "fresh-water flooks," muirfowl sent to him by his curator from Orchil—in the month of June, by the way,—trouts from the Ruthven, in his own glen of Kincardine, "trouts and milk from Sir Andrew Balfour,"[1] pigeons, "milkbreds daily to my Lord's breakfasts,"—"drapped eggs for my Lord's supper,"—all furnished to overflowing by "James Pett's dochter," our hero is resuscitated, and reserved for the shambles of the Covenant.

It is manifest that in the days of Montrose they knew how to live as well as how to die. These domestic records of the larder, the pantry, and the cellar, whether in reference to the funeral, the wedding, or the sick chamber, might create an appetite under the ribs of death. We are again tempted to compare them with the prouder records of that brilliant architect of theories, whose rich fancy, whether he treat historically or politically of the customs, habits, and characters of our ancestors, is apt to render him too independent of facts. Mr Macaulay is speaking of the era when the union of the crowns had placed the resources of three kingdoms at the command of one monarch; and he contrasts the condition, intellectual and social, of Scotland with that of Ireland. "In *mental* cultivation," he says, "Scotland had an indisputable superiority. Though that kingdom was then the poorest in Christendom, it already vied in every branch of learning with the most favoured countries. *Scotsmen*, whose *dwellings and whose food* were as wretched as those of the Icelanders of our time, wrote Latin verse with more than the delicacy of Vida, and made discoveries in science which would have added to the renown of Galileo. Ireland could boast of no *Buchanan*, or *Napier*." Comparatively poor, no doubt, was Scotland then,—not over-rich now. Many a hovel among the retainers, and many a rough and Runic board

[1] Sir Andrew was a brother of the Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour.

among the barons, bore witness to the slow march of improvement and civilization there. The labouring classes, indeed, were poorly lodged and coarsely fed,—thousands are worse off at this day. But those who rely upon the brilliant generalizations of this popular and dramatic historian, and suppose that they have here the true characteristics, of an age and country, embalmed in a single antithesis, will be misled. Whoso regards such generalizations as oracular truths, and attempts to elongate them, like the precious web from the fairy's nut-shell, or to sound the depths and sources of these sparkling productions, will sometimes find he has killed the bird that laid the golden egg. We take the instances upon which our historian so pointedly perils his proposition. Buchanan, who wrote Latin verses like *Vida*, might have dated his poetry from a palace; and as for his food, many were the regal tit-bits, the savoury crumbs of pasties and preserves, the savoy-amber, the pistache-amber, and the fennell, that adhered to the liquorish moustache of the royal dominie. Then the discoverer of the Logarithms, the father of Montrose's guardian Lord Napier, who indeed only died within the lifetime of our hero, his *dwellings*—for he had many—and, doubtless, the *food* at his command, were of the same substantial and luxurious order, as that through which we are now tracing the boyhood of the great Marquis. Young Montrose's head quarters at Edinburgh, in which we find every symptom of his having enjoyed comfort, good cheer, and harmless revelry, were,—besides Lord Napier's town mansion, with its "close," within the precincts of Holyroodhouse,—the stately and commodious old tower of Merchiston, the seat of the barony, at the south-west entrance to the city; a dwelling which, for generations before the time of the philosopher, had been something very different from those of "the wretched Icelanders of our time." In the sixteenth century, we have distinct records of the out-houses, the granges, and the barns, which formed the outworks of the Castle of Merchiston, all indicative of a great and more than substantial dwelling. The laird of the Logarithms dwelt within walls which withstood many a siege during the "King and Queen's wars." That ancient castle was one of the happy homes of Montrose's youth, who was five years of age before the "marvellous Merchiston" died. And to that dwel-

ling was conveyed the hero's heart, when stolen from his grave beneath the gallows, on the night of his execution. Many and various were the characteristics and conditions of the old castle of Merchiston, but, assuredly, *Icelandish* it never was. The Scottish worthy, whose genius our historian so fully appreciates, was a great store-farmer, as was his father before him, and his son after him. They were careful of stock, and curious in cultivation. The philosopher's time and great genius were about equally bestowed upon Algebra, Agriculture, and the battle of Armageddon; and, doubtless, he would have grimly chuckled over such a description of his "dwellings," and his "food," as that with which we are favoured, *currente calamo*, by a writer of the nineteenth century. Merchiston's new order of tillage, pasturage, and the management of cattle in the home farm, published in the interval between the "King and Queen's wars," and the wars of Montrose, shews warm, placid, and pastoral, as a Cuyp between Sneiders and Borgonone.[1] And the quaint

[1] "After the corns are win, and put into the barn-yard, the piece land tilled, and the wheat seed ended, you shall till down the land whereon you intend to sow down your bear seed; and if the same be clay, or reasonable stiff, and not sandy land, you shall sow on every acre red land thereof one boll of common salt, and if it be sandy ground, one half boll will suffice," &c.

And the following, no doubt, affords an accurate picture of the home parks around the castle of Merchiston, at so early a period as 1598:—

"Let every man cause bigg (build) ten or twelve parks, upon two or three year old ley land at the least, of what bounds he pleases, from the middle of the month of March till the eighth of April, and that the dikes thereof be strong and thick, that they may stand for five or six years, or longer at pleasure; and in the first or second day of the said March, let the foresaid whole parks be sown with common salt," &c.

"The said parks should be hained, and not pastured upon till Whitsunday thereafter, that they may be once *exceeding good grass*, and so will last the longer good. Make your parks so near the one to the other, that upon the said Whitsunday, when your cattle or bestial have eaten the grass of the first park, upon the morrow they may go the second, &c., till they have eaten the twelfth park," &c.

"The first day that you enter and eat the first park, you shall let the cattle feed and pasture themselves until eleven o'clock, that you give them water to drink, and thereafter put them into a common fold till two afternoon to dung the same, as use is; and at the said two hours, put them again into the said first park to pasture until eight o'clock at night; then take them forth to drink, and thereafter all night put them to dung in the said common fold, and let them never tarry over night in the said parks," &c.

Then follow minute instructions to the herd how to clean the parks, and dispose of the manure, and "that he fail not to do the same every night, as a good servant;"

*

beards, that for generations wagged merrily in those old halls, had grown out of the best of beef, and "Ester ale," besides "wild meat," "comfits," and "chopins of claret wyne,"—long before the time when, says Mr Macaulay, the intellectual immortality of Scotland dwelt in Icelandish caves, and fed on garbage.

and he adds, "one acre used this way will feed twice as many cattle as otherwise; and the kine fed thereon will yield *twice as much milk* as they that are fed on unsalted grass. Every year thereafter, for the space of five years, the said parks will fold more cattle, and they be better fed; and then, if you please to till and sow the said parks for the space of four years thereafter, there will be more corn and bear grow than may, in a manner, stand thereupon. Let the dikes stand notwithstanding the tilling thereof," &c.

This was promulgated by the Laird of Merchiston, in 1598, prior to King James's accession in England. There are no symptoms of savage life in this.

CHAPTER IV.

MONTROSE'S LIFE AT COLLEGE, CONTINUED—HIS SPORTS AND PASTIMES THERE—ARCHERY, HUNTING, HAWKING, HORSE-RACING, SHOOTING, GOLFING, AND BILLIARDS—OCCUPATIONS IN VACATION TIME—SOCIAL HABITS—STUDIES AND LITERARY HABITS—HIS EMULATION OF THE HEROES OF PLUTARCH—HIS CHARITIES—HIS LOVE OF FLOWERS.

WE left Montrose about to emerge from his sick chamber, and to resume his studies and pastimes. The symptoms of his complete recovery are gradual. A curtain had been ordered for his chamber window, and the wright is now summoned to remove it, as if striking the flag of distress. He is allowed mutton collops to breakfast. A gratuity of thirty-four shillings is bestowed upon "the cook and his boy, for their service in my Lord's sickness." His kinsman and curator, David Graham of Fintrie, cheers him with the gift of a particular hawk, and the man who took charge of it by the way is rewarded with twenty-nine shillings. His charities are resumed with a sympathetic item,—"To a chirurgeon for healing a boy's head, to which my Lord did contribute thirty shillings." Once more we find him engaged in his favourite recreation of archery; progressing from trials of skill at "the Butts," to more important contests in "the fields." On the 4th July 1628, he pays twelve shillings "to the producer of the silver arrow at the Butts." On the 7th of the same month, a like sum is expended by "my Lord shooting the second time at the silver arrow, at the Butts." On the 9th, he is entertaining at breakfast, "after the archerie," John thirteenth Earl of Sutherland, a nobleman who entered college on the same day with him (though about three years his senior), and Michael Balfour of Randerstane, brother to the Lord Lyon, and to Sir Andrew Balfour, who sent "truits and milk to my Lord" during his sickness. On the 18th, he competes, in the fields, for another silver arrow, gains the prize, and

gives a supper, the sum of six pounds three shillings being disbursed for "the wine and comfits after the supper given by my Lord to the rest of the archers."

To those who take interest in the ancient sports of St Andrews, archery and golf, the fact, hitherto unknown, will be acceptable, that a most enthusiastic promoter of those still approved exercises, was the great Montrose. The fact acquires additional interest when compared with a passage in a letter from the Queen of Bohemia, sister of Charles the First, which will find its place in the progress of our story. In the month of August 1649, twenty-one years later than the period we are now recording, and within a twelvemonth of his death, while he held a commission as plenipotentiary from Charles II. to the foreign States, her Majesty, who had conceived a great affection for him, writes in these terms: "We have nothing to do but to walk, and shoot: I am grown a good archer, to shoot with my Lord Kinnoul: If your office will suffer it, I hope you will come and help us to shoot." Montrose had retained throughout his life the reputation of a good archer, which, no doubt, he had acquired at the College of St Andrews.

In the Old College there, three antique silver arrows, with many silver medals attached, are still preserved, and exhibited to the curious. The medals are all dated, and bear the name, and generally some armorial insignia of the prize-holder. The oldest date upon any of the thirty-nine medals attached to what appears to be the most ancient arrow, is 1618; nine years before Montrose entered the University. The latest date, upon that arrow, within his time, is 1628. Of this last date, however, there is only one prize-holder recorded, "D. Forrester." The next medal, in order of time, bears the comparatively modern date, 1675.

It seemed remarkable that no such signal of Montrose's success was to be discovered among the numerous trophies attached to the oldest arrow, some of the medals being dated within the time when he was much addicted to archery at College, and had been the successful competitor upon more occasions than one. Among the curious relics of the Old College of St Andrews,

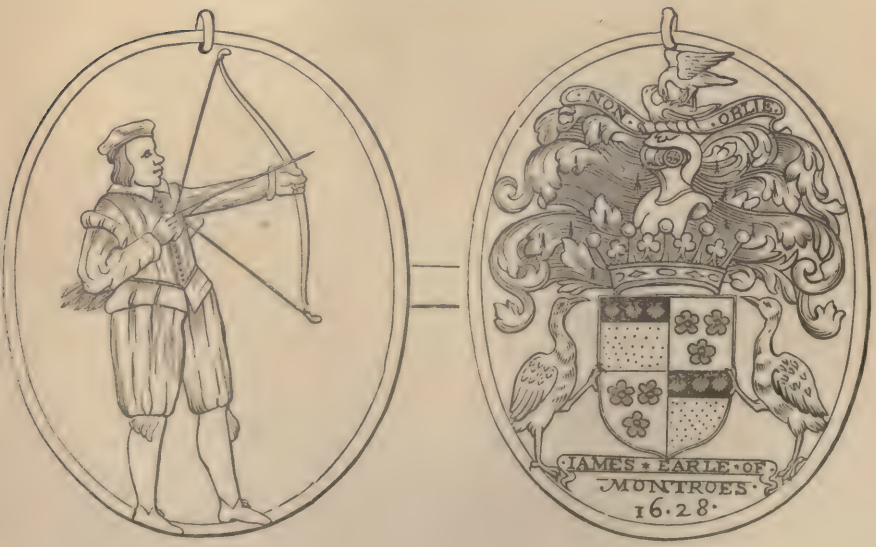
I.

Facsimile of Montrose's name, as entered by himself in the Matriculation Books of the College of St. Andrews, Jan. 26. 1627, *ætat.* 14.

Jacobus Gramus Comes Monterouse.

II.

Silver Medal attached to the Prize Arrow at St Andrews.



another silver arrow, also loaded with medals, is exhibited; but upon these no date is to be found earlier than 1710. It was recently discovered, however, that a third silver arrow still exists there, which had been locked up in a box, and lost sight of. It is smaller than those already mentioned, being not more than a span in length. To each of its three silver feathers, a silver medal is attached. Upon one of these, the earliest in date, there is engraved, underneath the full arms of the earldom, "James Earle of Montroes, 1628;" and on the reverse is rudely sculptured the figure of an archer drawing his bow, the usual effigies on most of these ancient medals. The second in order of time also displays a shield of arms, with the initials J. M. L., and the date 1630. Montrose, it seems, held this arrow from 1628 to 1630, by which time, being married, he had left college. The third medal contains the armorial shield of "Thomas Gourlay," with the date 1642; after which, no doubt, the state of the country put an end to such pastimes for a long period. This precious prize, with the three medals, had been retained by the family of the third holder until a recent date, when it was restored to the college by gift, as there is engraved upon the reverse, "M. Gourlay *dono dedit* 1823."[1]

It is a curious and interesting fact, affording matter of melancholy reflection, that when these sports came to be renewed at St Andrews, after the Restoration, the very next scion of the house of Graham who gained that prize, should have to display, on his armorial shield, engraved as usual upon a silver medal, an heraldic distinction from the main stock, singularly commemorating the tragedy which had intervened. Appended to the long silver arrow, first above mentioned, we find the medal of "M. Graham of Gorthy," with the date 1687. His shield of

[1] To the Rev. C. J. Lyon's History of St Andrews, an important and interesting work of much research, published in 1843, I am indebted for the first information respecting the silver prize arrows, still preserved, with their medals, in the College of St Andrews. But Montrose's connexion with the College, and its sports, had not then been discovered. In Mr Lyon's work, Montrose is not recorded as an *alumnus* of St Andrews, an omission which, it is hoped, another edition will rectify. On communicating the fact to the reverend author, however, he was so kind as to institute a search, by which was discovered, in some obscure repository, the third silver arrow, with Montrose's medal appended to it.

arms, which is there properly differenced, marks him a cadet of Inchbrakie, and of Montrose. But the *crest*, and the motto, tell a tale which even Nisbet,—who, in his great Institute of Scottish heraldry, records the arms of this branch of the Graham,—had not read. "Mungo Graham of Gorthy," says Nisbet, "descended of Inchbrakie, *or*, three roses within a bordure *gules*, on a chief *sable*, as many escalops of the field; crest, two arms, issuing from a cloud, erect, and *lifting up a man's skull* encircled with two branches of a palm tree, and, over the head a Marquis's coronet,—motto, *Sepulto viresco*." Precisely coinciding with the above official register, are the armorial bearings engraved on the medal of the next Graham who gained the silver arrow at St Andrews, after the time of Montrose. But why the "man's skull," encircled with a wreath of palm, crowned with the coronet of a Marquis, and speaking of a deathless fame? "There was a scaffold," says the contemporary historian of the kirk, recording the distasteful events of the Restoration,—"there was a scaffold raised for *taking down his head* with safety, and no little reverence was given to that relic; there's some bowing—some kneeling—some kissing it; and so it was buried with the body: but it was observed, in the meantime, that the laird of *Gorthie*—the gentleman who *took the head from the iron spike* upon which it was fixt—*died within some few hours*."[1]

The successor of this scion of the hero's house, had perpetuated, in his heraldic devices, his loyal ancestor's last act of devotion to their illustrious chief; and the sad story came, accidentally, to be attached to the very arrow for which Montrose had so frequently contested, about sixty years before.

Montrose appears to have been the leading patron of this college pastime; which, indeed, had not as yet altogether lost its military importance. It is he who generally bears the expense "to the drummer of St Andrews proclaiming the silver arrow to be shot for, twelve shillings." This was nearly equivalent to two shoulders of mutton; for we find noted, on the 9th of July 1629, "my Lord being to *produce* the silver arrow, for ane shoulder of mutton to his *breakfast*, six shillings and eight-

[1] Kirkton.

pence; *item*, at *supper* that night, with the rest of the archers, debursed, beside that which *every archer* gave, five pounds eight shillings." Next day, there is, "after the winning of the silver arrow, my Lord having *dined* in the fields, and *supped* in William Geddes's with the archers, his *loss* that day, three pounds four shillings;" to which is added forty-eight shillings bestowed by him on "the drummer and *piperer*, for giving advertisement to the archers these two days;" and sixteen shillings "for cloth and *strenzie*, for making clouts for the prik marks."[1]

In the implements of this warlike sport, he was somewhat recherché. His rooms at college were decorated with his bows, as we find by the wright's account "for hinging my Lord's bows in the chamber." In the year 1628 he has to pay seven pounds eight shillings "to James Pett, for furnishing my Lord with bows, and arrows, and clubs, that year." In March of the year following, the sum of eleven pounds twelve shillings is entered to "John Pett, James Pett's son, for to bring *arrows from London* to my Lord;"[2] and in August thereafter he expends twelve shillings "for ane pair of *butt arrows* made in Dundee."

Besides striving for the various prize arrows, frequent trials of skill, or "parties" as they are termed, come off at St Andrews, Bruchty links, and Montrose. In these matches, at which great sociality seems to have prevailed, Montrose bears at least his own share of the concomitant expense. On the 10th of July 1629, "after the winning of the silver arrow, *item* paying *a party* lost by the *bower*, John Maine, shooting on my Lord's side, six shillings;" and on the 11th of August thereafter, "in Bruchtie links, my Lord being at the archerie with my Lord Kinghorne,[3]

[1] Marks for the Archers. Her Majesty's Body Guard for Scotland, the Royal Company of Archers, use the same technical terms to this day.

[2] This commission was fulfilled, but at greater expense than the sum advanced: In July 1629, there is paid ten pounds fourteen shillings "to James Pett, bower, for archery *grathe* to my Lord; *item*, to his son for archery *grathe* brought from London, and some others, having gotten eleven pounds, twelve shillings before, the rest of his account, six pounds, nineteen shillings."

[3] Montrose at this time was staying at the castle of Glamis, in Forfarshire, then appertaining to his friend John second Earl of Kinghorn, Lord Lyon and Glamis, ancestor of the Earls of Strathmore. Among the items of his expenditure upon this occasion, there is,—"*item* given to the servants at Glamis, six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence; *item* to *ane nurrice* there, of my Lord Buchan's dochter."

the loss being put for payment of *the wine* that came from Dundee, my Lord bearing part of Reyres's laying by head, thirty six shillings; *item* 14th August, my Lord being at the archerie at Montrois, given to the poor in the links and town, six shillings."

This vigorous prosecution of archery was no less vigorously diversified with golfing, tennis, hunting, and hawking. A week rarely passes throughout which we do not discover the young collegian distributing liberally, one day "to a boy carrying my Lord's quiver and bows that day," and another, "to the boy who carried my Lord's clubs to the field." Sometimes, when on his return to St Andrews from Edinburgh, he pauses a day at Leith, where we find him expending ten shillings "for two golf balls, my Lord going to the golf there," and also sixteen shillings "for balls in the tennis court of Leith." He appears to have possessed an establishment of hawks, and doubtless was fond of the ancient and romantic sport. His kinsmen Graham of Balgowan, and Graham of Fintrie, and also the Laird of Grange, at various times presented him with hawks of high degree, which are gratefully received, and most lustily fed. There is noted the expense of laying with turfs the floor of the place where he kept them. Immediately following the item of six shillings and eight pence "for some mutton for my Lord's breakfast," is that of twelve shillings "for three fowls for my Lord's halk;" and "to the *Oeconomus*[1] for beef to the halk, twenty shillings." Moreover, he receives into his establishment "ane falconer recommended to my Lord by my Lord Colvill,"—of Culross, namely, whose father and he were sisters' children.

It is recorded of Montrose by one who knew him intimately, and who, to use his own words, "had the honour of employment under his command both at home and abroad,"[2] that he displayed a "singular grace in riding." Accordingly, we can trace

Lady Margaret Erskine, second daughter of James sixth, Earl of Buchan, was married to Montrose's relative, Sir James Graham, brother of the Earl of Monteith and Airth. They had a daughter, who married Walter Graham of Gartur.

[1] The Oeconome, or Steward of the college.

[2] Saintserf.

him in the saddle from the time he was eight years of age. His usual mode of travelling was on horseback, throughout the various districts of Scotland which he visited, in flying progresses from mansion to mansion of many friends, during his happy vacations. In term time at St Andrews, he appears to have hunted systematically, though with what hounds is not recorded. But his horse was trained for the sport, and carefully and curiously fed both before and after a hard day's work. Amid various items of expense constantly recurring for his saddles, bridles, girths, stirrup-irons, horse clothing, spurs, and hunting caps, there occur such items as these in the months of March, April, and May 1629 ; " To my Lord's horse that week, being under dyet, twelve oat breads, ten shillings."—" Item, ane loaf to my Lord's horse, ten pence."—" Item, given to the horse two pints of ale, three shillings and four pence."—" Item, to my Lord's horse after his hunting, a pint of ale and a loaf, two shillings and eight pence."—" Item, my Lord having been at hunting, for a hen to his supper, six shillings and eight pence. Item, a pint of ale to his horse after the hunting, one shilling and eight pence."

No doubt it was severe work to carry the young Lord, who never allowed the grass to grow under his horse's heels. When Sir Walter Scott made the gallant Rittmaster apostrophise his beloved charger, as one with whom he had often shared his loaf, he was not aware that the steed of Montrose had so fared with his master at college. The fact also reminds us of the affecting incident, that Montrose's own fare, immediately before his execution, was the same as that with which he was wont to keep his hunter in condition :—" After the ministers had gone away, and he had been a little his alone, my author being in the outer room with Colonel Wallace, he took his breakfast, a little bread dipt in ale."

Montrose's hunting companions were young noblemen with whose names we become familiar in the history of the rebellion, and several of whom are connected with his own public history, not much to their credit. His chief associates, of his own order, appear to have been the Lords Wigton, Lindsay, Kinghorn, Sinclair, Sutherland, and Colville, with all of whom he was on

friendly and familiar terms. Probably there were others who happen not to be mentioned in these domestic papers. On a hunting morning in May, we discover him at breakfast with the first above named, Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who so unfairly obtained the Earldom of Crawford, and whose sinister conversations with Montrose, in 1640, were among the first circumstances that alarmed his loyalty, and roused his indignation against the dangerous duplicity of the prime Covenanters. Lord Sinclair was he whom they so unworthly commissioned, in 1641, to break open his private repositories, at Old Montrose, Mugdock, and Kincardine, in search of materials to found a plausible accusation against him, an act of which Lord Sinclair lived to be ashamed. The same day that he hunts with Lord Lindsay, we find him visiting, by invitation, another hero of the troubles who, within a few years afterwards, would as soon have thought of inviting a fire-brand into his house:—"Item, the 9th of May 1629 (my Lord going to hunting with my Lord Lindsay), that day, my Lord being invited by *Sir Thomas Hoppe* to his house, given to the mason thereof, five pounds, sixteen shillings."[1]

Another amusement of our hero's while at college, was *Cupar races*, a name yet familiar to us as indicating a fashionable resort in modern days, for good sport, and social enjoyment. In the month of August 1628 he pays forty-eight shillings, "for the hire of two horses, one to *follow my Lord* when the noblemen were in St Andrews before Cupar races, the other on the day of the race."—"Item, to James Pett's dochter, for furnishing my Lord's chamber, and for his breakfast and supper, the day he went to Cupar race, three pounds ten shillings." We find him also attending these races in the spring of the following year. "My Lord's loss at billiards," too, is sometimes noted.

We shall be forgiven for lingering on these and other minute illustrations of the college life of Montrose, trifles though they be. It is the period of his life, hitherto an absolute blank in his biography, when for a few fleeting years, he was happy and joyous, without a shadow on his path. No suspicion of the coming "cloud in the North," crossed his ardent mind; and

[1] The Lord Advocate was building a fine house.

as we trace him through the varied occupations of his golden non-age, all indicative of the nobility and gentleness of his dispositions no less than of his birth, we almost shrink from following the warrior into the awful current of his proximate youth, lost in a sea of blood ere he had passed his prime!

When absent from college, we can trace our hero, from time to time, at the country houses of Fintray, Claverhouse, Inchbrakie, Morphie, Cumbernauld, Balgowan, Braco, Orchill, Killearn, Machany, Carnock, Duncruib, Rossdhu, Kinnaird, Balcarres, Dudhope, Darsy, Glammis, Scoone, Pitarrow, Gleneagles, Dunglas, The Mains, and various other hospitable mansions. Doubtless the stirring young cavalier was an ever welcome guest. Some of the notices illustrate the social habits of the period. At the commencement of the year 1629, this characteristic entry occurs:—"Item, January first, my Lord being in Bacarres, to the steward and his man coming to my Lord's chamber, in the morning, with ane drink to my Lord, being new-year's day, fifty-eight shillings." This was the seat of Sir David Lindsay, created Lord Lindsay of Balcarres in 1633, ancestor of the present Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. Sir David was a very learned man, and rejoiced in the most valuable library of his day. Ten volumes, in his autograph, on the subject of the philosopher's stone, is said to have once existed at Balcarres.[1] But the new-year's morning drink indicates an hearty hospitable house—a Scottish Bracebridge Hall. It was the equivalent of the wassail bowl of the old English Christmas customs; and, judging from Montrose's accounts, which indicate that "Ester Ele" was a favourite beverage of his, sometimes shared with his horse, and that he occasionally indulged in possets, and sack and sugar, the ingredients of the steward's "deep can, the merry deep can," would not be disagreeable to him. We trust that good "Maister John Lambye" was not forgotten in this merry distribution of "gentle lamb's wool:"—

[1] See an interesting account of this learned and amiable nobleman, and of his family, in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, a fascinating and instructive repertory of family history.

"Next crown the bowl full
With gentle lamb's wool,
And sugar, and nutmeg, and ginger,
With store of ale too,—
And this ye must do,
To make the wassail a swinger."

Montrose had come from St Andrews upon this occasion, to bring in the new year, 1629, at Balcarres; where having enjoyed himself for three days, he returned to his college. There are various indications, throughout these domestic records, that he delighted in Christmas gambols and mummery; and probably when he became a lord of the Covenanting Tables, it was not the first occasion of his being "Lord of misrule." Besides the town drummers and *piperers*, whom he seems to have kept in pay throughout the districts of Scotland which he frequented, upon different occasions he is paying minstrels, violers, morrice-dancers, and jugglers; and once at Cumbernauld, the future scene of his famous bond against the covenant, there is expended seven pounds twelve shillings "for gloves, masks, and carquans, to my Lord's sisters." The carquan, or carkanet, was a jewelled necklace, and reminds us of Herrick's gentle bribe:—

"I'll give thee chains and *carkanets*,
Of primroses and violets,
If thou wilt love and live with me."

His sisters engaged no small share of his attention and affection—a disposition which we discover evincing itself even when he had become involved in the vortex of the Troubles. The vacations of his college life were generally spent in their company; and he used to entertain them at such times with pleasant excursions, or *fêtes champetres*, amid the romantic scenery of his own lordly domains.

In the month of October 1628, the young chief had convened a great gathering of his friends and relations in his castle of Kincardine, and many loads of coals were ordered for the happy house-warming. Thereafter follows an account of "My Lord of Montrose, his Lordship's dyet and ordinary expenses, coming from Braco to Drumfad, on Tuesday at even, the 28th

of October 1628 years, accompanied with the laird and lady Luss, and the rest of his Lordship's sisters." Drumfad, where the factor appears to have resided, was in the barony of Kincardine; and here again a large party enjoyed themselves right merrily, upon "sac wyne," and all manner of good things, for several days, the young Lord paying for all to the amount of forty-four pounds twelve shillings. On the first evening he entertains fourteen at supper; and on the following day, at dinner, the number is augmented to eighteen, by the addition of the Earl of Wigton, Malcolm Fleming his brother, Brisbane of Bishopton, and Haldane of Gleneagles. On Saturday thereafter, the rural party is still further augmented, and graced by the agreeable addition of "some gentlewomen that resortit to my Lady Luss." It reminds us of Boccacio. They had twelve horses with them, and a great array of servants and boys, all living at hack and manger upon the young Lord of the manor. We must make an exception, however, in favour of two of his discreet curators, as thus carefully noted by James Graham, the factor of Kincardine:—"*Nota*, to remember that this compt is *by and attour* (i. e. exclusive of) the lairds of *Morphie* and *Claverhouse*, who paid for their men and horses, *etc.*"

Upon other occasions, our hero mingles with more ceremonious society. In the month of March 1629 he goes to Edinburgh, seemingly for the purpose of paying his respects to the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Justice-General. On the second day of that month, at college, "my Lord supped in his chamber, and the rest of the Lords with him." On the morning after this symposium with the gold tufts of St Andrews, he journeys to Edinburgh, by Burntisland and Leith; and on the following day, his arrival is, as usual, curiously indicated by the payment of eighteen shillings "to the *drummer* in Edinburgh." A chamber is hired for him in town, for seven nights, at a rent of three pounds, and twelve shillings "to the servant woman in the house." There he is furnished with coals and candles; *dyets* from the cook to the amount of twenty-two pounds one shilling; besides extras in the shape of four hens, and a supply of sweet pastry; also "wine, ale, and beer, gotten out of the tavern, the said space," to the tune of six pounds fifteen shil-

lings. All this argues the absence of Lord Napier and his family from Edinburgh at the time. Probably they were at Merchiston Castle in the vicinity, as there are large gratuities bestowed upon "my Lord Neper's cocheman, and footman." On his arrival in Edinburgh, the young cavalier "dights him in array." He is busy buying combs and shoes and boots. With regard to the latter, a tight fit apparently, he bestows nine shillings of "drink-silver to the boy that put them on." Three pounds are expended "for a pair of gilt spurs to my Lord;" and twenty shillings for "*dichting* his sword." Of the same date, 9th March 1629, twenty-four shillings is bestowed upon "my Lord Chancellor's coachman, for driving the coach with my Lord to my Lord Monteith's lodging."

The dignitary who compliments the noble youth with his equipage, to convey him to the lodging of the Lord Justice-General, was Viscount Duplin, created Earl of Kinnoul in 1633, as peremptory and cross-grained an old carle as ever growled under gout. Montrose's guardian, Lord Napier, who knew the Chancellor intimately, and had some curious and even furious scenes with him relative to the King's projected progress to Scotland, in this very year, declares that, at the Scottish council board where they sat together, "his manner was to interrupt all men when he was disposed to speak, and *the King too.*" He was predecessor of the Lord Kinnoul who, in 1650, perished of fatigue and hunger in the wilds of Assynt, Montrose's sole companion in that hopeless flight. The Earl of Monteith, too, is closely connected with the history of our hero. William Graham, Earl of Monteith, Strathern, and Airth, he who so rashly boasted of having in his veins "the reddest blood of Scotland," was a cadet of Montrose. When visited as above by his young chief in 1629, he was in the full enjoyment of royal favour, Justice-General of Scotland, President of the Privy Council, and an Extraordinary Lord of Session. His son was that gallant young Lord Kilpont, whom Stewart of Ardvoirlich so basely assassinated in the camp of Montrose, after the battle of Perth, in 1644.

There is something which attracts the fancy in Montrose's extra finery upon this occasion,—the gilded spurs and the

" dichting" of that unfleshed sword, which was yet to flame in the eyes of Europe. It is one of the few occasions of his life when he is presented to us under the aspect of a carpet knight, and as if his chivalry was only to be manifested in that gentle guise which a descendant of his house has so gracefully figured—

> " If gay attire delight thine eye,
> I'll dight me in array,
> I'll tend thy chamber door all night,
> And squire thee all the day."[1]

Then the gallant picture of the young nobleman stepping forth in all his bravery, is completed by an act of charity, occurring at the moment, and so picturesque under the circumstances, as to remind us of an incident in the Faëry Queen, when

> " The dwarf called at the door of Amyas,
> To come forth unto his ladie's bower."

For of the same date with his *douceur* to the Chancellor's coachman, there occurs—" Given to ane dwarf begging from my Lord at his chamber door, eighteen shillings."

It would appear that the sole purport of his flight from college at this time, was to pay his respects to the high functionaries with whom we find him in conjunction. On the following day, he takes his departure from Edinburgh, returning *via* Leith and Burntisland to St Andrews. He is conducted to Leith in Lord Napier's coach, a mode of conveyance to which he was not addicted, leaving his own horses and luggage to follow. Having escaped from all this ceremony, he indemnifies himself with a complete day of golf and tennis at Leith, and supper and breakfast to match. These two meals in Leith amount to six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, with the addition of twelve shillings " to the servant woman in the house." He lives less extravagantly at Burntisland on the following day, where breakfast and dinner only cost him three pounds two shillings, and ten shillings " to the servants in the house." Then, " for my Lord's horse standing in Leith that night, for

[1] Graham of Gartmore.

corn and straw," the charge is seven shillings and eight pence; while at Burntisland it is one shilling more.

Re-established at St Andrews, on the 13th of March 1629, the gallant Graham betakes himself again to cards, chess, billiards, hunting, hawking, archery, golfing, and we must add shooting, as there are various items relating to his "brazen gun," and "powder and lead for my Lord." Besides these engrossing sports and pastimes, other occupations break in upon his studies. On the 30th of March, two additional horses are hired, "my Lord going to Master William Erskine, his burial;" which melancholy occasion seems also to have cost him a suit of clothes. On the 22d of June, three hired horses are in requisition, "my Lord being invited to Darsay, by the Archbishop of St Andrews." This was the father of Montrose's devoted friend in after life, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, whom he used to address as the "good President," the amiable and accomplished head of the Court of Session in Scotland, inhumanly executed at St Andrews, the scene of his father's greatness, by the clerical faction in 1646. When the riots against the Service-book, in 1637, were becoming organized into a war of extermination against the Bishops, the first appearance of young Montrose at the seditious meetings was particularly noted by them. "Yea," says Guthrie, "when the Bishops heard that he was come there to join, they were somewhat affrighted, having that esteem of his parts, that they thought it time to prepare for a storm when he engaged." While a student at St Andrews, he frequently visited at Darsy, the seat of the Archbishop, which probably had founded his reputation with the venerable Primate, one of the earliest victims of the Covenant.

It is to be regretted that these household accounts so slightly illustrate his literary habits at this time. The luxurious command of books, which every college youth now enjoys, whether he reads or not, was in those days not attainable by the wealthiest student. That Montrose had "a cabinet" of books, and even travelled with a pet folio, is an interesting fact very accidentally preserved to us. In 1627, the first year of his college life, twenty pounds are expended in books for him, of which the

only one particularized is a Greek grammar. Throughout the two following years, there are but two purchases of books recorded, the presentation of one other book, and two items for binding. These literary acquisitions would seem to have been suggested rather by the taste and studies of the tutor than of the pupil. Mr William Struther's Meditations have been already mentioned. The next purchase that occurs is on the 2d of February 1629 :—" Item, for *Meditationes Gerardi*, fourteen shillings." We take this to have been the " Sacred Meditations" of John Gerhard, an eminent German Lutheran divine, and voluminous author, born in Saxony in 1582, and who died in 1637. The work was translated in 1631, by Ralph Winterton, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and passed through six editions in nine years. Good Master John Lambye may have striven, by such acquisitions, to subdue the fancy of his ardent pupil to a contemplative mood; but the mortifying volumes, we suspect, stand in the same relation to the bent of his genius, and the habits of his mind, that his temporary conversion to the Covenant bears to his support of the Monarchy.

The noble student's next literary acquisition is indicated by this item: " To Mr Lithgou, delivering his book to my Lord, five pounds, sixteen shillings." This was more in his line. William Lithgow, a native of Lanark, and born in 1583, was a celebrated traveller, and one who shared the fate of more distinguished travellers in not being altogether credited. His marvellous adventures were published in 1614. On his return he visited England, and there presented to King James, Queen Anne, and Prince Charles, " certain rare gifts, and notable relics, brought from Jordan and Jerusalem." Moreover, he was author of " The Pilgrim's farewell to his native country," published at Edinburgh in 1618. Probably the book which he presented to Montrose in 1629 was his " Adventures and painful peregrinations of long nineteen years travel from Scotland to the most famous kingdoms in Europe, Asia, and Africa," which went through several editions between 1614 and 1632. This ingenious but fantastical author, sought the patronage of Montrose, with whose father and grandfather he had been acquainted, upon more occasions than one. Some time before the year 1640, and it may have been in the college days of Montrose, he sub-

mitted to his private reading and criticism, the manuscript of a poem thus alarmingly entitled :—" The gushing tears of godly sorrow, containing the causes, conditions, and remedies of sin, depending mainly upon contrition and confession ; and they seconded with sacred and comfortable passages, under the mourning canopy of tears and repentance." A strange poem this, to be submitted for the private perusal of a young cavalier ! It is a dreary and interminable howl, redeemed here and there by some nervous verses, amid a vast preponderance of puritanical chaff. But the dedication to our hero, when the poem came to be published in 1640, may serve to solve the problem :—" My humble request pleads the continuance of your favour, that as your late renowned grandfather, and father, were unto me both friendly and favourable, proceeding from their great goodness not my deserts, so I expect the same from your tender bounty, which hitherto, beyond my merit, hath been exceeding kindly manifested. For the which my praise and prayers, the two sisters of mine oblation, rest solidly *ingenochiated* at the feet of your conspicuous clemency. This present work, *in its secret infancy*, was both seen and perused by your Lordship ; but now, enlarged, polished, and *published*," &c.

Throughout the year 1629 there are two items for binding the young Lord's books :—" Item, for binding Buchanan's Works to my Lord, twelve shillings."—" Item, for binding *Argenis*, twenty-two shillings." By *Argenis* must be meant that historical, political, and allegorical romance, which was written in Latin by John Barclay, and first translated into English, at the command of Charles I., in 1628. Under cover of the loves of *Poliarchus* and *Argenis*, this once celebrated production, inculcates, with unmerciful prolixity, principles and maxims of monarchical government, which probably had induced his Majesty to patronize the translation. Fatiguing though it be to the minds of modern readers, it was regarded in its own time as a paragon of wit and wisdom ; and there is something so romantic, and so dramatic in the opening scene, that it could not well fail to arrest the attention of such a genius as young Montrose, and allure him onwards to the political dissertations, which are the main object of the work :—

" As yet the world had not adored Rome : As yet the ocean

had not yielded the precedence to Tiber; when, upon the coast of Sicily, where the river Gelas falls into the sea, a foreign ship landed a young man of a most brave aspect. The servants, with the mariners' help, brought his arms and furniture on shore; and, hoisting up his horses in slings by the middle, did let them down upon the strand. Himself, not accustomed to the rolling of a ship, was laid upon the sand, and sought to settle his brain by sleep; when a most shrill clamor first troubling the mind of him, then slumbering, with unpleasant imaginations, straight drawing nearer with sudden horror, gave him no leisure to sleep. A wood there was in sight, of a great largeness, though the trees grew thin, under which certain hillocks, darkened with bushes and underwood, did raise themselves, as of purpose to lodge ambuscadoes. From thence suddenly there brake out into the field, a woman of an excellent countenance, but who had disgraced her eyes with weeping, and her hair scattered about her as in a funeral, made her look fearful. Her horse, with blows of the whip put to his speed, went not yet fast enough for her, that laboured to make more haste, and shrieked no less than was the manner in the Phrygian or Theban fury. The reverence of the sex, with the bitterness of her lamenting, did, besides his propension to favour those which were miserable, move the mind of the young man; who also thought what this spectacle, which he first met with at his entering into Sicily, might presage. But she, when within hearing,—'Oh! whatsoever thou art (quoth she) if thou beest a friend to virtue, ah, lend thy aid to Sicily, which, in a most valiant man, certain wicked thieves seek to overthrow. Nor will the instant mischief suffer me to make any long entreaty; neither yet can I pray slightly for *Poliarchus*, whom, not far hence, a furious troop of robbers have beset with unexpected villany. Myself escaping in the tumult, have first happily, and perhaps no more for his safety than thy glory, lighted upon thee.' As the woman, with panting and sighing delivered these words, he took his sword and cask, and while his men brought his horse,—'I did but now, Lady (said he), arrive in Sicily; be it lawful for a stranger, as yet, *not to know the name of Poliarchus.*'"[1]

[1] From the translation of 1628, published in London, by his Majesty's command.

Alas, for the *Meditationes Gerardi*, and the meditations of the gifted Maister William Struthers, and "the gushing tears of godly sorrow," with such an introduction as this, to the principles of monarchical government, under the eyes of the gallant Graham, when seventeen years of age.

We thus find that Montrose had been introduced to the ancient languages through the works of Xenophon, Seneca, Buchanan, and Barclay. But there is further evidence that he made companions of the classics, and inflamed his heroic genius with their themes. The youth who, under every temptation of rank and fortune, to withdraw his mind from an ardent desire for other celebrity, could study the characters of Plutarch's heroes with a determination to emulate their fame, evinced a genius of no ordinary stamp. Alexander is said to have possessed a copy of the Iliad corrected by Aristotle, which he preserved in a precious casket found among the spoils of Darius. This he used to place under his pillow with his sword. In allusion to an anecdote he had derived from Plutarch, Montrose wrote this verse upon his copy of Lucan :—

As *Macedo* his *Homer*, I'll thee still,
Lucan, esteem as my most precious gem;
And, though my fortune second not my will,
That I may witness to the world the same;
Yet, if she would but smile even so on me,
My mind desires as his, and soars as hie.

In like manner, he had noted upon a leaf of Cæsar's Commentaries :—

Though Cæsar's paragon I cannot be,
Yet shall I soar in thoughts as high as he.

But the great prototype of his youthful emulation was the Macedonian hero. His copy of Quintus Curtius also displayed this evidence of it, penned by himself :—

As Philip's noble son did still disdain
All but the dear applause of merited fame,
And nothing harboured in that lofty brain
But how to conquer an eternal name;
So, great attempts, heroic ventures, shall
Advance my fortune, or renown my fall.

We find the echo of the very sentiment in his famous ballad:—

"As *Alexander* I will reign,
And I will reign alone;
My thoughts did evermore disdain,
A rival on my throne;
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all."

As the heroes of Plutarch had thus roused his youthful ambition, it must have appeased the indignant manes of the martyr champion of the martyr king, to find that he had established an European fame, as having equalled, in heroic action, the very models he had chosen. De Retz, the friend of Condé and Turenne, has thus embalmed his eulogy among the classics of history:—"Montrose, a Scotish nobleman,—head of the house of Graham,—the solitary being who ever realized to my mind the image of those heroes whom the world only sees in the *biographies of Plutarch*,—had sustained, in his own country, the cause of the King of England, with a grandeur of soul that finds no parallel in the present age."

Perhaps the following may be taken as evidence that Montrose eschewed the manual drudgery of study:—"To ane scholar, who writes my Lord's notes in the school, twenty-nine shillings." But that he sometimes worked his hand as well as his head, the item of five shillings paid "for ane pen ink-horn to my Lord's use," may suffice to prove. His sympathy for needy men of letters is frequently manifested. Besides contributions to rhymers, and romancing travellers, there occurs, "given at my Lord's direction to ane Frenchman, at his lauriation, to help to bear his charges, ten pounds." Less conspicuous but not less interesting charities mark the progresses of the noble student wherever he goes. Liberal and open-handed as may be the young gallants of our own times, they cannot be said to scatter alms each time that they throw their leg over a hunter, or cast the reins to their tiger, as regularly as grace before meat. Every "on-loupine" of Montrose, was the signal of alms to the attendant poor, over

and above constant and liberal donations "to the poor that week at the Kirk," and, "at the Kirk, given to the brod," generally from six to twelve shillings at a time. We discover him bestowing alms upon the "poor at the gate," of Kinnaird, Morphie, Glammis, Claverhouse, the Mains, &c.; as if such were his constant habit, ere partaking of the hospitality within. He never "takes horse," or "loups on," or dismounts, or goes "to the fields," or visits a town, or pauses at "his chamber door," or pursues his journey along the highway, without distributing a shower of small coin, the most single hearted of all charities, which, in return for no inconsiderable drain upon his purse, must have heaped upon his youthful head many a Christian blessing, to countervail the curses of the Kirk. Sometimes individual charities are particularized:—"Item, the second day of July, 1629, to ane auld man called James Gellerd, and his wife, begging from my Lord at his chamber, twelve shillings." Upon other occasions—"Item, to an dumb woman, four shillings." —"Item, to ane honest man who came to my Lord on his way from Carnock to Cumbernauld, six shillings." And not the least interesting of these occasions, when we consider the subsequent ties between them,—"some poor *Irishe women* at the gate of Braco," and—"ane *Irishe man* begging at the gate of Glammis"—are all successful appeals to his charity. Nor must we omit an instance with which he was not apt to be assailed in after life—"Item, to ane poor man who brought ane testimonie from the Kirk, seventeen shillings."

Another trait of the habits of this "tassel-gentle," was his love of the garden. While the walls of his chamber were bedecked with bows and other insignia of the green-wood craft, his table was adorned with flowers from the college garden, or presented to him by friends. Next to the *nurses* of the hospitable mansions which he visited as a guest, the gardeners came in for a share of his liberality, and the gardener of the college, who frequently supplied him with nosegays, experienced his bounty in proportion. A constant attendant at the Kirk, on Sundays, and preaching days, where he never forgot the poor, his appearance there, bouquet in breast, must have been hailed with satisfaction, unalloyed by any classic fear of the *Danaos*, at every country "Kirk brod," where he happened to make

his offering:—"Item, the 4th of April 1629, at St Andrews, given to the poor that week at the Kirk door, preaching having been daily before the communion, seventeen shillings."—"Item, on the 11th to the brod at the Kirk door, that week, on peace Sunday, and other two preaching days, sixteen shillings."—"Item, the 18th day given to the poor that week, three days at the Kirk door, six shillings." And when, in August following, he is visiting at Dudhope, the seat of the hereditary constable of Dundee,[1] we find him, on Sunday the 30th, giving "to the brod at the Kirk in Dundee, twelve shillings; to the poor that day at the Kirk style, ten shillings; to the poor at the gate of Dydhope, three shillings; item, to the gardner, giving my Lord *ane flower on Sunday*, twelve shillings."

Amid these domestic records of his various occupations, and rapid movements, we find some interesting indications of his personal attention to country matters. In the month of August 1629, he thus writes to his chamberlain:—"ROBERT GRAME: Ye shall not fail to deliver to Thomas Moncur of Shilhill, forty pounds, which I have contributed to the relief of those gentlemen who are damaged by the flowing of their moss in Stirlingshire.—MONTROIS."

In reference to the above there is also preserved "The discharge granted by Thomas Moncur, of forty pounds money, which my Lord gave to the help of those that were distressed with the overflowing moss in *anno* 1628."[2]

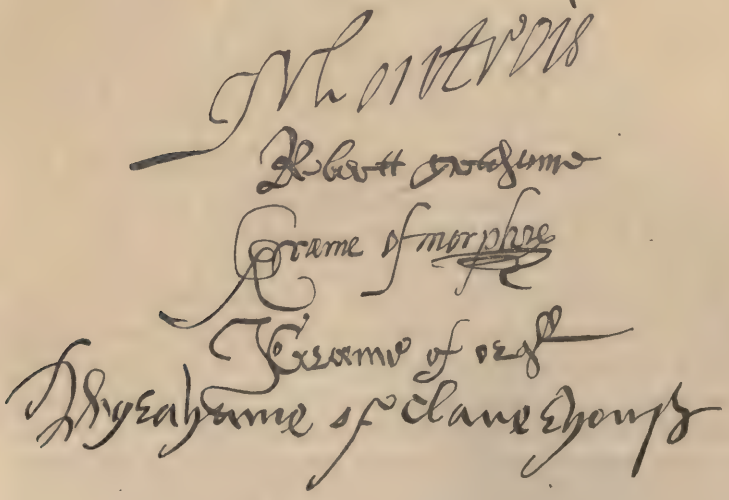
At the same time, "In the month of August 1628 years, when my Lord visited the place of Ald Montrois, there was ane meikle hole in the slate-work thereof, above the terrace, at the back door which opens on the terrace; whereat, his Lordship's self directed the factor to gar (cause) mend the same; which he gart be done; and paid for lime thereto, *ane merk;* and for slate work and slates thereto, *fifty shillings; inde* 3lb. 3s. 9d." Something of the nature of this stately and ancient family mansion may also be gathered from the accounts for the following year, when it seems to have undergone a more complete repair:—"Paid for

[1] Sir John Scrymgeour, created Viscount Dudhope in 1641.

[2] In another account, it is described as "the fleiting moss besyde Airthe."

mending the glass-work, and the glass in windows of Ald Montrois, in August 1629 years, at direction of the laird of Morphie, six pounds, three shillings, and four pence: Paid, at direction, to the slaters, called John Sires, and Alexander Talbertt, for mending all the slate-work of Ald Montrois; except the tower, the bake-house, the brew-house, and the kitchen; which they refused, until the same be *tirrit* first, before they take it in hand: So they mended the great house, the chambers on the south side of the close, the porter-lodge, the garden chamber, and the girnel house, for the sum of seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence."

The above is from an account "fitted and subscribed at Drumfad, the 13th day of October 1629," and thus attested by Montrose, his chamberlain, and three of his curators, in the month immediately preceding the noble minor's marriage.



CHAPTER V.

MONTROSE'S MARRIAGE—HIS PORTRAIT TAKEN BY JAMESON—MADE A BURGESS OF ABERDEEN UPON THE OCCASION—HIS MOVEMENTS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE HIS MARRIAGE—HIS FIRST ACQUAINTANCE WITH BISHOP WISHART—HIS MARRIAGE IN THE CHURCH OF KINNAIRD—PROVISION IN THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT AS TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE YOUNG COUPLE—BIRTH OF HIS SONS—DEPARTURE ON HIS TRAVELS AT THE TERMINATION OF HIS MINORITY.

A ROMANCE usually concludes with the marriage of the principal performers. In this romance of real life, for such it is, the order is changed. The marriage of the hero comes off at the commencement, and happens to be the least important, or the least interesting, of all the prominent events in his life. Indeed the value of that circumstance is reduced, in his case, to its first intention and primitive simplicity. The only son of his father, he became the father of *three* sons, a fact which, strangely enough, has escaped all the peerage writers.

Hard by Old Montrose, stood the ancient castle of Kinnaird, the chief seat of Montrose's nearest neighbour in Forfarshire. This was David Carnegie, created Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird, by James VI., in 1616. His place was at no great distance, moreover, from St Andrews. Thus our hero could not fail to be a frequent visitor in a distinguished mansion, where a numerous family of sons and daughters added to the inducement of near neighbourhood. "Mrs Magdalene Carnegie," was the youngest of six daughters of this house, all of them eventually married to Scotch Peers, so that the family was one of high consideration in Scotland. This was the young lady that captivated the observed of all observers among the gold tufts of St Andrews, and transformed the boy into a Benedict, in the

third year of his college life, when no more than seventeen years of age. There is a family tradition of this fair one, that she had previously met with a disappointment. It is said that the Master of Airlie had paid his addresses to her, with every prospect of success, and was about to bring the matter to a happy conclusion, by a formal proposal. On his way to Kinnaird Castle, however, for this purpose, his horse stumbled in crossing a river, or refused to take the ford. The result would seem to imply that the young and ardent rider had been thoroughly cooled by immersion in the stream; for, as the story goes, he regarded the omen as unfavourable, and, yielding to adverse fate, he—

> "——— gave his bridal reins a shake,
> Said, adieu for ever more my love,
> And adieu for ever more."

The deserted was inconsolable, until her father soothed her with the assurance that he would immediately provide her with even a better match than the head of "the bonnie house of Airlie." The anecdote is rendered interesting by the subsequent companionship in arms of these young noblemen, and the constant unchanging devotion of the Airlie Ogilvies to the royal cause, under the standard raised and sustained by Montrose.

Lord Kinnaird, who became Earl of Southesk, by creation, when Charles I. was crowned in Scotland in 1633, was well known as a public man, and had held many high offices, both as a commoner and a peer. Whatever may be the truth of the above story, it is more than probable that the worldly wise Kinnaird had done his best to promote so good a settlement for his youngest daughter; and the successful suitor was not one likely to allow his horse to refuse to cross a river, especially on such an errand, or to allow the river to cross him. Occasional items of expenditure "to the poor at the gate of Kinnaird," indicate his habits of resort to that social abode; and we may believe that the ale-fed steeds of the young cavalier acquired a strong propensity to exhibit their caracols, in passing through that gate to the castle of Kinnaird. It would seem, however, that his marriage had in no degree interfered with the usual stirring and sporting habits of the young Earl, either before or after it

came off. The easy, matter of course way, in which the important event is dovetailed in these accounts, with his usual daily field exercises, and equestrian excursions, is somewhat singular. We have already traced him very nearly to his wedding day. On the 3d of November 1629, he is staying at Morphie with Sir Robert Graham, one of his curators. That morning, the weather being severe, he orders his horses to be frosted, and rides to Cowie, and from thence to Aberdeen. On the 4th of November, we discover him in Aberdeen, buying buckles for his spurs, scattering alms to the poor of the Newtown, and the Auld-town, and to "some Bed-men at the Bishop's gate;" and also bestowing forty-six shillings upon "the porter of the college for *ringing the bells.*" He has five horses with him, and his advent appears to have created a considerable sensation, and to have been very cordially hailed. That same day he is presented with the freedom of Aberdeen:—"Item, the said day, my Lord having been made burgess, given to the town officers three dollars,—*inde*, eight pounds fourteen shillings." On consulting the Guildry accounts of Aberdeen for the year 1629, we find that this compliment cost the town,—"Twelve *buists*,—six pounds; a sugar loaf,—four pounds eighteen shillings; tobacco and pipes,—twelve shillings; bread and candles,—twenty-two shillings; eight pints of Spanish wine,—nine pounds twelve shillings; four pints of French wine,—forty-eight shillings; *summa* twenty-four pounds." It could scarcely then have been anticipated that, in a few years, this same boy would "flutter their Volscians in Corioli," and that he was destined to become, within a very short space of time, first a terror, then a protection and champion to the good and loyal town.

Upon the present occasion, however, Montrose had not ridden from Morphie to Aberdeen in a hard frost for the purpose merely of getting his spurs mended, and being made a burgess. George Jameson, the pupil of Rubens, and fellow-student of Vandyke, the solitary name of the period which entitles Scotland to a place in the history of art, was then established in his native town, and devoting his genius to portrait-painting. The laird of Morphie, probably, wished to compliment the young Countess with a portrait of her husband, drawn by the Vandyke of Scotland. Such, obviously, was our hero's main object in this sudden

excursion to Aberdeen, in the week previous to his marriage. Master John Lambye records a payment at this time of twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, "for my Lord's portrait drawn in Aberdeen." The charge, however, is scored out, and there is noted on the margin, "this was given by Morphie." In the following month, and while the young couple were established, after their marriage, in the castle of Kinnaird, this relative item occurs:—"December the second day, 1629, to one who brought my Lord's portrait from Aberdeen, twelve shillings."

We have thus an interesting and accurate record, upon a great occasion, of the rapidity with which Jameson worked, and the terms upon which he produced those graceful and effective, but not powerfully painted head-size portraits, which are yet to be met with, in various states of preservation, scattered throughout the ancient houses of Scotland. His illustrious subject appears to have arrived in Aberdeen upon the evening of the 3d of November. He is made a burgess next day. Upon the 5th he takes horse from Aberdeen; and five pounds is the sum debursed on "the fifth day of November, for my Lord's horses,—five horses, two days." During this short space, he had sat to Jameson for his portrait. Throughout all the accounts, there is no indication of his having been in Aberdeen before this time. By the 2d of December following, the portrait is finished, and immediately transmitted to the young married couple at Kinnaird. There it still exists, in high preservation; nor has this portrait been known to have quitted the castle of Kinnaird during the two centuries which have elapsed since it was painted. The price paid for it, when the sum is reduced to sterling money, was no more than £2:4:5. But, be it remembered, in Scotland, in those days, forty-four legs of mutton could be carved out of that sum.

From Aberdeen, on the 5th of November 1629, Montrose rides to Arbuthnot, the seat of Sir Robert Arbuthnot, created Viscount in 1641, whose wife was Marjory Carnegie, sister of the lady whom the young Earl was about to espouse. There he remained until the following day, when he rode to Halkerton, the seat of Sir Alexander Falconer, created Lord Falconer in 1647, whose mother was maternal aunt to Montrose's bride.

Here he pauses for two days, there being some sport towards. In addition to his usual liberality to servants, and the poor, there is an item, on the 7th of November, "to ane boy who had found ane hare the day before, six shillings:—Item, given to ane *trumpeter* there, twenty-four shillings." On Sunday, the 8th, he is contributing to the poor, and "to the brod of the Kirk;" and on Monday the 9th, we discover him at Montrose purchasing golf-balls, in order to play a match with his brother-in-law, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss; little suspecting that the confidential valet of that worthy "was ane necromancer," according at least to the awful declaration of Sir Thomas Hope, as we shall presently find. Having finished his match with the Laird of Luss, our hero becomes mindful of his match with "Mistress Magdalene Carnegie." So, having "taken a drink at John Garn's," he mounts for Kinnaird, to salute the young lady who was to be his wife next day. Upon this occasion his visit was intended to be brief; for, leaving his steed in charge of a boy at the gate, whom he rewards with no less a sum than six shillings, he proceeds on foot to the castle; and that same day, being the 9th of November, he scampers away to Morphie, to give an account of his reception at Aberdeen, and the progress of his portrait, for which the Laird was to pay. There he remains all night. Next day his horse's head is again turned to Kinnaird Castle, where my Lord is forthwith married, in the parish church, on Tuesday 10th November 1629, *ætatis suæ* 17.

The manner in which this very material circumstance, in the progress of his college life, enters the accounts kept by his worthy "purse-maister," may here be presented to the reader.

Item, 10th November 1629, to the servants *in Morphie*,.....8 lb. 14sh.
Item, the *said day*, given to the brod in the Kirk of Kinnaird, *at my Lord's marriage*,.....29 sh.
Item, to the poor, my Lord coming home from the Kirk,.....36 sh.
Item, the 11th day, to some poor,.....3 sh.
Item, in Kinnaird, the 13th day, given *to the minstrels*,.....8 lb. 14s.
Item, the 15th day, being Sunday, given to the brod, and to some poor at the Kirk-style,.....15 sh.
Item, given to the servants of Kinnaird, after my Lord's marriage,.....33 lb. 6sh. 8d.
Item, 16th day, given to my Lord at cards,.....24 sh.

By this it appears that the marriage jaunt of this very young couple, was no farther than from the Kirk of Kinnaird, which was within the grounds, to the castle. But scarcely had "the minstrels" ceased to serenade them, when we find Montrose at his clubs and balls again. On the ninth day after his marriage there is a sum paid "to ane going to St Andrews for clubs and balls to my Lord;" and also for "sax new clubs, and dressing some auld anes, and for balls." Immediately follows another payment, "my Lord being in Montrose at golf, for stabling the horse."

Among the last items of these interesting accounts—which are brought to a close, in so far at least as regards his College life, by his settlement at Kinnaird—there is one, indicating his removal from St Andrews, which cannot fail to arrest the attention:—"Item, given to the minister, *Mr George Wyshart*, his servants, who had kept and transported the furniture and trunks, twenty-four shillings." It was destined that the friendship here commenced between the then minister of St Andrews, and this distinguished youth, was to become matter of history. The classic and far-famed record which Montrose embraced with fervour on the scaffold, as adding dignity to his death, was the work of this same George Wishart, upon whose tomb in Holyrood the immortalizing word is Montrose! In the ruined Chapel there, the Latin inscription on the tomb-stone of the Bishop of Edinburgh is still legible; and the concluding couplet refers to his Latin Commentaries on the loyal career of this young student, whose trunks and furniture used to be consigned to his care:—

"Gestaque *Mont-Rosei*, Latio celebrata cothurno,
Quantula, proh, tanti sunt monumenta viri."

The marriage-contract, still extant among the Montrose archives, is dated at Kinnaird, 10th November 1629; and there can be no doubt that the tender age of the married parties had occasioned this obligation on the part of Lord Carnegie,—"To entertain and sustain in house with himself, honourably, the saids noble Earl and Mistress Magdalene Carnegie,[1] his

[1] *Mistress* was the style of gentle maidenhood in those days, which it is not now. In fact, the terms *Mistress* and *Miss* have changed places.

promised spouse, during the space of three years next after the said marriage." In consequence of this arrangement, all the factors' books, relating to the young Earl's various baronies, and the accounts of his personal expenditure during his college life, had been removed to Kinnaird Castle, where they have remained ever since in safety, but unheeded and unknown, until our recent researches brought them to light, along with his portrait by Jameson, which had been consigned to the same oblivion.[1]

Montrose cannot be said to have enjoyed more than three years of domestic life; the years, namely, which elapsed between his marriage and his majority. As already stated, his Countess brought him three sons, two of whom were born during his minority. At all events, his second son James, whose fortune it was to carry on the illustrious line, only came into the world about the time when his father became of age. At Kinnaird Castle, in terms of the prudent provision of the marriage-contract, Montrose continued to prosecute the studies, and follow the pursuits, which his early marriage had interrupted at college. But his coming of age appears to have been the signal for his adding that finish which, in those days, was considered essential to the education of a young nobleman—foreign travel. He had to make himself acquainted with other countries, and to visit the great seat of war. So, one important object of his boyish alliance being accomplished, he left Scotland for the continent, as soon as he came of age, leaving his young Countess, and their infant sons, under her paternal roof, and the safe guardianship of Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird.

This new phase in the career of Montrose seems to have occurred sometime between the close of the year 1632, and the summer of the following year. He was in Edinburgh during the month of October 1632. On the 19th of that month he there subscribes a promissory-note for four hundred marks, "to be given by me, James Earl of Montrose, for the help of the building and library of the College of Glasgow,"—the town where his own studies had commenced. A mutual discharge of all actions "betwixt James Earl of Montrose, with consent

[1] Their present possessor, Sir James Carnegie of Southesk, Bart., is the representative of Montrose's father-in-law, the first Earl of Southesk.

of his curators," and the Earl of Perth, dated at Edinburgh 22d October 1632, proves that he was there at the time, and still a minor. In the Lord Lyon's list of noblemen attending the coronation of Charles I., which took place at Edinburgh in the month of June 1633, the name of Montrose appears, followed by the word "absent;" and not, as in several other instances, with the explanation "*infra ætatem*," importing minority. From this may be inferred that he had attained majority about the time when the King arrived, but that, from some unexplained cause, he was not present at the coronation. The cause we shall endeavour to explain in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

MONTROSE RECOMMENDED TO CHARLES I. BY THE LAUREATE OF THE CORONATION—HIS ABSENCE FROM THAT PAGEANTRY ACCOUNTED FOR—VILLAINOUS CONDUCT OF COLQUHOUN OF LUSS—CRIMINAL PROSECUTION ORDERED BY CHARLES I.—NATURE OF THE CHARGE—CHARACTER OF THE LORD ADVOCATE—HIS VISIONS AND DREAMS—FATE OF LADY KATHERINE GRAHAM—CRIMINAL LIBEL AGAINST HER DESTROYER—SENTENCE OF FUGITATION AGAINST HIM AND HIS NECROMANTIC VALET—RE-APPEARANCE OF THE PRINCIPAL CULPRIT, AND HIS RECEPTION BY THE KIRK—LADY BEATRIX GRAHAM.

MONTROSE was the very figure for such pageantry as the coronation of Charles in Scotland. Already was he distinguished among the elite of the Scottish youth. Of this a curious and interesting corroborative evidence is derived from the lays of a contemporary poet, who made some noise in his day, but whose poetical effusions are now so rarely to be met with, that the passage we are about to quote, has not hitherto been noticed in any biography of our hero. The poem is entitled, "Scotland's welcome to her native son and Sovereign Lord, King Charles, by William Lithgow, the Bonaventure of Europe, Asia, and Africa." This is the traveller and poet mentioned in a previous chapter, as having been patronised by Montrose, to whom he presented his volume of travels, at college. In the performance now referred to, the genius of Scotland is figured as addressing Charles I., upon the occasion of his coronation progress; and as calling his attention to the state of the country, its ancient valour to be cherished, its modern vices to be discouraged, its grievances to be redressed,—for when was Scotland without grievances,—affording, withal, a very curious picture of its condition and habits of society in 1633. The poem, although anticipating the whole scene under this figurative address, must have been composed before the ceremonial came off; because, when enumerating the nobility whom the Genius of Scotland

earnestly recommends to the love and patronage of their Sovereign, the Viscount Duplin, Lord Carnegie, and others who obtained a higher rank in the peerage upon that occasion, are named by their inferior titles:—

> "As for Lord Barons Lyndesay, and Cathcart,
> Boyd, Rosse, and Yester, Forbes, pious heart,
> Lord Viscount Duplin, Chancellor of my State,
> With Marcheston, as good as now made great."[1]

But the nobleman whom she recommends to the King with the greatest ardour, and the highest eulogy, is the young Montrose. The poet's strain rises, too, as if he found the subject inspiring; and it is interesting to observe, that, had there been displayed to him, by second sight, the future hero's career in arms, he need not have added a line to his eulogy:—

> "As for that hopeful youth, the young Lord Graham,
> James Earl of Montarose, whose warlike name
> Sprung from redoubted worth, made manhood try
> Their matchless deeds in unmatched chivalry,—
> *I do bequeath him to thy gracious love;*
> Whose noble stock did ever faithful prove
> To thine old-aged ancestors, and my Bounds
> Were often freed from thraldom by their wounds;[2]
> Leaving their root, the stamp of fidele truth,
> To be inherent in this noble youth:
> Whose hearts, whose hands, whose swords, whose deeds, whose fame,
> Made Mars for valour *canonize the Graham.*"

That he was about to see the world, was no reason why the young Earl should omit the most favourable opportunity of being made known to his Sovereign,—who had already, in a very pointed and substantial manner, recognised the succession of the young head of the house of Graham. His subsequent marriage, and the birth of two sons, were additional circumstances to insure a favourable reception. Moreover, his father-in-law, Lord Carnegie, was on the eve of being created Earl of Southesk, at the approaching coronation; and Lord Napier was one of four peers selected to support the canopy held over the mo-

[1] This refers to Lord Napier's elevation to the peerage in 1627.

[2] Alluding to the tradition of "Graham's Dyke."

narch's head on the way to the church, and "in time of his sacring the day of his coronation." Then Sir Philip Warwick says of Charles, "that whenever any young nobleman, or gentleman of quality, who was going to travel, came to kiss his hand, he cheerfully would give them some good counsel leading to moral virtue, especially to good conversation, telling them, that if he heard they kept good company abroad, he should reasonably expect they would return qualified to serve him and their country well at home." Why was Montrose, whose presence in Edinburgh is traced at the close of the year 1632, absent from the coronation there, in the month of June 1633?

One reason may be assigned, which we cannot avoid surmising to have been the most influential, in determining the young nobleman to avoid the festivities and pageantry of this exciting scene. Colquhoun of Luss, the husband of his eldest sister, and the companion of his sports, had just been proclaimed an outlaw at the Cross of Edinburgh and the pier and shore of Leith; and sentence of fugitation was pronounced against him accordingly, on the 11th of January 1633. He had failed to appear and stand his trial at the bar of the Court of Justiciary, for a crime of the deepest die; a trial which, had he dared to face the accusation, would, in all probability, have been followed by his execution.

Two royal mandates from Charles I., one addressed to the Earl of Monteith, as Lord Justice-General, the other to Sir Thomas Hope, as Lord Advocate, reached those great officials at the same time. That addressed to the former, which is dated "from our Court at Wanstead, 13th September 1632," bears, that "The foulness of the crime committed of late, as we are informed, by the Laird of Luss, having justly moved us to have the same tried according to the laws of that our kingdom, and him punished, if found guilty, that others may be terrified from committing the like hereafter, we have thought fit to recommend unto you, as our Justice-General, to have a special care that the fact be speedily and duly tried, and him punished, if found guilty, according to our laws provided in like cases: which recommending to your care, we bid you heartily farewell."

The instructions to the Lord Advocate, of the same date, are yet more explicit as to the nature of the accusation, which was no less than incest, accomplished by means of witchcraft. Then follow these tempering mercies, addressed to the Lord Treasurer for Scotland, also dated from Wanstead, 13th Sept. 1632:—

"Whereas we have given orders to our Advocate to pursue the Laird of Luss for the crime of incest, alleged to have been committed by him, though he can deserve no favour *for himself*, in what the course of our laws can inflict upon him in his person and estate, yet having compassion on *the suffering of his wife and children*, and of so ancient a family, our pleasure is, that if his escheat, liferent, or lands, shall fall in our hands, in the dispensing thereof you have a special care that no creditor of his be defrauded of that which is justly due unto them; and that the maintenance of his wife and children, and the standing of his house, may be provided for; he only suffering in his own person all that by the course of our laws usually in the like case may be imposed upon him: which seriously recommending unto your care, we bid you farewell."

The Lord Justice-General was Montrose's relative, and a cadet of his house. The Lord Advocate was his lawyer, and on friendly terms with him. We have already traced him in social converse with them both. It is scarcely to be doubted that they would all be in painful communication on the subject of these royal missives, which deeply involved the honour and welfare of the noble family of Montrose. He himself was transacting business in Edinburgh at the very time. The victim of his brother-in-law's infamous conduct was his young sister, Lady Katherine Graham.

It has been already stated, that, on the death of Earl John, his three unmarried daughters, Dorothea, Katherine, and Beatrix, were consigned to the care of their two elder married sisters. Dorothea, as we have seen, was ere long happily married to the future Lord Rollo, under the auspices of Lord and Lady Napier. The next in order was Katherine, who seems to have been younger than her brother, and was a mere child when she fell within the fangs of her brother-in-law. He was under

no suspicion or evil report; and even in 1629, the year in which he is accused of having commenced his elaborate arts of seduction, we find him playing matches at golf with the unsuspecting brother, who was his frequent visitor on the banks of Loch Lomond.

Some time in the month of September 1631, Sir John Colquhoun, Lady Katherine Graham, and a German of the name of *Carlippis*, who was Sir John's valet, all disappeared, suddenly and secretly, from his place of Rossdhu. The great scandal then arose of the ruin of that unhappy young lady, by her own brother-in-law, and self-elected guardian; an occurrence of all others most likely to excite the utmost indignation in the mind of the virtuous and domestic monarch whose letters are quoted above. Those commands were promptly obeyed. Criminal letters, dated 23d October 1632, were raised by Sir Thomas Hope, and directed against the Laird of Luss and his German servant, but not against Lady Katherine. Owing to the circumstances narrated in the libel, it was impossible for the law to regard her as a criminal; and if "the art that none may name," of which so curious a specimen is afforded by that document, was then as universally and sincerely credited, as it at least passed current with the public prosecutor, even the high circles in which the young lady moved must have regarded her as an innocent and interesting victim.

The prosecution directed against "John Colquhoun of Luss, and Thomas Carlippis, a German, his servant," is laid upon two statutes: *First*, upon the act of Queen Mary, 1563, which provides that no manner of person, of whatsoever estate, degree, or condition, shall presume to take upon them to use any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, or necromancy, or to give themselves out as professing any such craft or knowledge, thereby to abuse the people; neither that any person seek any help, response, or consultation, at any such users or abusers of witchcraft, sorcery, or necromancy; and this under the *pain of death*, against all the parties concerned: *Second*, upon the act of King James, 1567, against cohabiting within the forbidden degrees, as contained in the 18th Chapter of Leviticus; also inferring a capital punishment. But these Criminal Letters contain such

curious details, that we must presently give them in the words of Sir Thomas Hope himself. It will be seen that Sir John Colquhoun was not accused of rape or forcible abduction. Nor yet was his victum treated as a participator. The charge, in fact, was precisely that alleged by Brabantio, when denouncing the Moor as having practised upon Desdemona:—

> "Judge me the world, if 'tis not gross in sense
> That thou hast practised upon her with foul charms,
> Abused her delicate youth with drugs, or minerals."

For *drugs*, we have "certain *philtra*, or poisons of love," mentioned in the libel; and for *minerals*, "a jewell of gold, set with divers precious diamonds or rubies, which was poisoned and *intoxicat* by the said necromancer." To bring his prosecution to issue upon so precise a statement of facts, as we find in the libel, the King's advocate must have been minutely informed. Carlippis, we may suppose, was well known to our hero, who was the frequent guest of his master at Rossdhu. Nor is it all unlikely that the young Earl himself had furnished his friend and lawyer, Sir Thomas Hope, with some of the curious details upon which the libel condescends. From that we gather the fact of the unfortunate young creature having been secretly conveyed to London, by Luss and his accomplice, so early as in the month of September 1631; and that his arts to effect her ruin might be traced so far back as 1629, although he was not summoned to answer for the crime until the month of September 1632. The poor victim herself may have afforded some clue to the infamous proceedings, before she disappeared—and, as it seemed, disappeared for ever. How the Lord Advocate would have proved his libel, had the culprits stood their trial, or what light he could have thrown upon the mode of *intoxicating* precious stones, so as to paralyze the virtue which, as he declares, had previously resisted the Laird of Luss's attempts to insinuate himself "in his crafty and politic manner, by subtle and enticing speeches in the said Lady Katherine's favour," cannot now be known. But the fact that one of his rank, wealth, and influence, preferred disgrace, exile, and poverty, to meeting that charge, induces a belief that some curious and damning facts could have been extracted, even out of the wild and improbable story

of the precious stones "*poisoned* and *intoxicat* by the said necromancer," Carlippis.

> ....." Are there not charms
> By which the property of youth and maidhood
> May be abused? Have you not read, Rodorigo,
> Of some such thing?"

The play of Othello was first acted thirty years after this sad reality occurred in Scotland. This domestic Mephistophiles, being a German, may not unreasonably be suspected of having brought to such nefarious application some of those mesmeric arts, and recondite properties of matter, which are now attracting the attention even of the scientific world. Now-a-days, in perusing such a statement as we find in the Lord Advocate's criminal charge against Colquhoun of Luss, the mind naturally recurs to the recent discoveries of the German chemist, Baron von Reichenbach, relative to the mysterious powers and properties of crystallization. In advance of feeble and fettered research, and despite the bitter jealousies of scientific mediocrity, the so-called *miracles* of the material world, in their unfathomable connection with our spiritual nature, are now forcing themselves, by unlooked for and constantly recurring facts, upon the conviction of every observing mind that is unbiassed by personal interests, and not a slave to professorial dogmas and prejudices.

The contemporary silence on the subject of this extraordinary prosecution is something remarkable. The times were prolific of gossipping chroniclers. Yet not one of them have recorded even the fact, although it must have attracted public notice at the time. The Lord Advocate does not note it in his diary, which is so full of the marvellous. In Sir James Balfour's collections, we find a note of the marriage, death, and burial of Lady Dorothea Graham, but the name of her unhappy sister does not occur. Baillie's letters, generally loquacious upon all subjects, are silent upon this. Scotstarvet, a chronicler both scandalous and malicious, and full of apocryphal gossip, has not a word about the deplorable incident. Yet he accuses the infant Montrose of eating a toad, and his mother of dealing with witches. The peerage writers, Crawford and Douglas, appear

not to have been aware of the existence of Lady Katherine Graham. Genealogical historians have aided the mystery, by ingeniously welding two lairds of Luss into one. While they record the happy commencement of the culprit's domestic life, by his marriage with Lady Lilias Graham, they have contributed to cast into shade the unnatural deformity of its termination, by confounding him with his son, who also became Sir John Colquhoun of Luss. One is almost led to suppose that this tale, alas! too true, which might have furnished inspiration for a romance by Scott, or a ballad by Southey, was but a waking dream of Sir Thomas Hope's, were it not that we have succeeded, after hunting him like an otter through the troubled waters of his times, in raising the villainous Luss once more to the surface, and extorting something like a confession from himself.

It is as well, however, that Luss and his accomplice absconded and escaped. Whatever strange or valuable phenomena of Nature may have lurked behind this wickedness, Sir Thomas Hope was not the man, nor was his the age, to have extricated them from the deadly grasp of ignorant superstition. That the enchanted, or, as the public prosecutor so significantly persists in calling it, the *intoxicated* jewel, had actually been a weapon, and a formidable one, in the hands of Carlippis, there is little reason to doubt. But, in all probability, Sir Thomas Hope's pleading upon it would but have added another page to the disgraceful records of witchcraft in Scotland. He was one of the most superstitious in an age of superstition. A laborious and able lawyer, his talents ever keenly and successfully applied to the gains of his profession, so fanatical was his mind, as to imagine that supernatural whisperings, directly from the Almighty, were vouchsafed to his ear, under his red night-cap, while other less favoured mortals slept. Not to give him credit for strong religious feelings, would be to accuse him of an amount of hypocrisy scarcely conceivable, and which no one would be justified in surmising of another. But this may be said of the Lord Advocate of the Troubles, for it lies on the surface of his character and conduct, that religion in him was sadly alloyed, and even rendered mischievous, by a narrow-minded bigotry, and the most egotistical phantoms of the brain. To count his

gains, and to interpret his visions, were weighty matters with him. At eve the prevailing idea was to note his fees—in the morning to note his dreams. Yet he was a poor dreamer after all. In the highest of his somnambulistic flights, even the wife of his bosom must have laughed at him. Snugly ensconced within the well drawn curtains of his connubial couch, his legal head enveloped in various warm wrappings, surmounted by a red cloth, he would sometimes jog his spouse in the watches of night with the fearful questions, whether she had not heard the Almighty talking to him![1] But the details of his dormitory

[1] "2d April, 1639, Tuesday.—*Words spoken and heard on 3d April 1639 in the morning.* Item, as I awakened on Wednesday in the morning, I fell in an earnest in-calling of the Lord, that his Majesty would pity his people, and vindicate them from the power and rage of their adversaries, and would establish the glory of his blessed truth in the land. And while I was praying, these words were spoken,—but whether by me or some other I dare not say,—but the words were,—'*I will preserve and save my people.*' Whereupon awakened out of my drowsiness: for I was not sleeping, but as it were oppressed with grief and tears, till these words were spoken, and certainly heard by me. Blessed be God who has a care of his own. And I asked my wife if she heard any speaking? Who heard not; and I told her what I heard."

"18th May, Saturday, 1639. This day, in the morning, I, lying in my bed betwixt five and six, and, upon the grief of the report of the disaster in the north, pouring forth my heart to the Lord in prayer, and saying, 'Lord pity thy pure kirk, for there is no help in man,' I heard a voice saying to me, as I did hear it of before on 3d April last,—'*I will pity it,*'—for which I blessed the Lord, and believe that it shall be, as my Lord has now twice spoken to me."

"*Words heard, 3d* (time). 29th May 1639, Edinburgh.—About midnight, as I was regretting to the Lord the calamities of his kirk, and humbly praying his Majesty to arise to the help thereof, and with tears urging, calling unto him '*arise,*' I heard these words,—'*I will arise;*' and within half an hour the horn blew with a packet."

"*Words heard, 4th.* On 8th June, lying in my bed betwixt one and two in the morning, I was pouring forth my heart to the Lord, and in so great necessity, *being to speak with the king*, I said, 'My Lord, will not thy Majesty help and assist me?' And I heard a voice saying, '*I will, doubt not.*'"

"*Words, 5th.* Item, at Foulden on 14th June, which was Friday, 1639, being anxious in spirit for the event and success of God's cause, I heard this voice, '*Let me work it.*'"

"Item, on Saturday the 15th June the articles were presented, and the noblemen got a kiss of his Majesty's hand."

"*Words, 6th.* Item, at Foulden 16th June 1639, being Sunday, I being praising the Lord for the good beginning, and humbly praying for the accomplishment of God's work, I heard this voice, '*I have done it.*'"

"Item, on Tuesday 18th June the articles of peace were subscribed."—Sir Thomas Hope's Private Diary, *printed for the Bannatyne Club.*

existence, or double consciousness, are usually puerile in the extreme. At the most momentous crisis of the kingdom, when, by a strange freak of those disjointed times, he, the King's Advocate, was commissioned to fill the throne of the Assembly which brought forth that monstrous birth the Solemn League and Covenant, under his own auspices, his dreams, anxiously recorded by himself, would have done little credit to any old crone nodding at a dreary wake.

Shortly before the meeting of that Assembly, the Lord Advocate and Lord High Commissioner thus notes his nocturnal visions:—

"In the night preceding this 22 June 1643, after twelve hours at night, and about two or three in the morning, I fell in two dreams. By one I dreamt that all the night coverings on my head were fallen off, and I sought and found them all, and fastened them on again, *except the red cloth*, which I use upon it. *Item*, after I awoke, I fell asleeping, and dreamt of new, that I was at a marriage, and was clad in satin; but do not remember whose marriage it was. And when I awoke again, I called on the name of the Lord, and promised submission to his holy will; whatever his Majesty should appoint for me or mine, *the Lord make me ready*."

"24th June 1643. This night I thought that a tooth, which was loose, fell out of my gums, and that I took it in my hand, and kept it, thinking to have it set in again. And it seemed to me so real, that when I awakened I thought it really true; and could scarcely believe it to be otherwise when I had awakened. These repeated dreams portend some calamity to me or mine. But I have resolved to submit myself to my good Lord, and to adore his providence, and the Lord give me his grace to bear it patiently."

"25 June 1643. Sunday at night I dreamt that while I was pulling on my left boot, *both the tags of it broke*. The Lord prepare me."

"Dream accomplished 26th September 1643. Tuesday, in the morning, *both the tags of my left boot*, while I was pulling it on my alone, broke; which I dreamt of before 25 June 1643."

[1] Perhaps the Lord Advocate, too, had a *valet* "who was ane necromancer."

Such was the celebrated lawyer, and Lord Advocate of the Troubles, at whose instance was preferred the following extraordinary charge against Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, immediately before the coronation of Charles I. in 1633.

The libel, after narrating the statutes upon which the prosecution is laid, as already mentioned, thus proceeds :—

"The said John Colquhoun of Luss, albeit he was lawfully coupled and conjoined in marriage with Lady Lilias Graham, eldest lawful daughter to our umquhile right trusty cousin, John Earl of Montrose, *with whom he has procreated in the said marriage a great number of children*,—as also, that the said Lady Lilias, shortly after the decease of the said John Earl of Montrose, her father, having, with consent of the said John Colquhoun of Luss, her husband, taken and received within her house and company, Lady Katherine Graham, her lawful sister germane, who remained in their company and society by the space of [blank] years,—the said John Colquhoun of Luss, altogether void of the fear of the Almighty and Omnipotent God, unmindful of his divine and sacred law, his own solemn oath, and matrimonial promise, and of his bounden duty to his said honourable and chaste lady, and without respect to her noble blood and descent, resolving, in his diabolical and damnable resolution, [to seduce and dishonour][1] the said Lady Katherine Graham, her sister, he, *in his crafty and politic manner*, first insinuated himself, by subtle and enticing speeches, into the said Lady Katherine's favour, for bereaving her of her chastity, and not being able, by that his craft and subtlety to prevail, and ensnare her, he thereupon addressed himself to certain witches and sorcerers, consulted and dealt with them for charms and incantations; and, namely, with the said Thomas Carlippis whom he kept and used as his ordinary servant; and procured from him, *being a necromancer*, certain *philtra or poisons of love*, or poisonable and enchanted *tokens* of love; especially, *a jewell of gold, set with divers pretious diamonds or rubies*, which was *poisoned* and *intoxicat* by the said necromancer; and had the secrete and devilish force, of alluring and forcing the person receiver

[1] The words within brackets are substituted for coarser expressions used by the public prosecutor.

thereof, to expose her body, fame, and credit to the unlawful will and pleasure of the giver and propyner thereof: Likeas, the said John Colquhoun of Luss, for accomplishing of his former devilish resolution, in the years 1629, 1630, and 1631, or some time in one or other of those years, propyned, gave, and delivered to the said Lady Katherine, his sister-in-law, the foresaid jewel of gold, set with the said rubies and diamonds, devilishly *intoxicat*, and enchanted, as said is: After her receiving whereof, she was so bewitched and transported, that she had no power of herself, to refuse the said John Colquhoun of Luss: Where through, and from that time forth, of her receipt of the said enchanted and *intoxicat* jewel, [he exercised unlimited control over the person of Lady Katherine Graham]. Likeas, the said John Colquhoun of Luss, not being content therewith, he, accompanied with the said Thomas Carlippis his conducet servant, and a necromancer as said is, in secret manner abduced, carried, and took away the said Lady Katherine furth of his own house of Roisdo, in the month of September, in the year of God 1631; and therefrom carried and transported her to the city of London, within our Kingdom of England, where he has remained and kept company with her continually sensyne, in the said horrible crime of incest; contravening thereby not only our said Act of Parliament made against the committers of the said crime, but also he, with the said Thomas Carlippis, *necromancer*, his *devilish servant*, by practising of the said sorcery and witchcraft, of bewitching, and *intoxicating*, of the said jewel, and by propyning and delivering the same to the said Lady Katherine, to the pernitious effect foresaid, and consulting with witches and sorcerers for that wicked intent, has contravened the tenor of our said Act of Parliament made in the contrary, and has incurred the deserved *punishment of death*, mentioned therein, which ought and should be inflicted upon them with all rigor, to the terror and example of others."

These criminal letters having been duly executed, by a messenger of the name of *James Graham*, by open proclamation at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and pier and shore of Leith, "Then," says the messenger, "I duly, lawfully, and orderly,

denounced the said Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, Knight,[1] and Thomas Carlippis, his said servant, his Majesty's rebels, and put them to his Highness's horn, with three several blasts of a horn, as use is, and ordained all their moveable goods and gear to be inbrought to his Majesty's use for their contempt and disobedience."[2] Thereafter, on the 11th of January 1633, the parties having failed to appear, sentence of fugitation was pronounced against them.

The Church Courts had also taken cognizance of this great crime. The Laird of Luss was excommunicated. But he had fled out of the Kingdom; and he seems to have been so completely removed from the scene of his iniquities, as not to have known, until he ventured to return, sixteen years after his flight, that he had been excommunicated.

The year 1647 found Scotland in a very different state from what it was when Sir John Colquhoun left it in 1631. The Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, had become the law in Scotland, The Kirk of Scotland had become the Government of Scotland. Argyle was Dictator in Scotland. Montrose, in exile by the commands of his Sovereign when in the hands of a rebel faction, was under sentence of death and forfeiture by the Kirk-ridden Parliament, and of excommunication by the Kirk. He had run up a heavy account against himself, and his race, by that series of brilliant victories which had swept all the armies of the Covenant from the face of Scotland, ruined the prestige and destroyed the clan of Argyle, and disgraced every Scottish nobleman who had been induced to stand for the Covenant instead of the Crown, in any fair field against Montrose and the Standard. Argyle and the Kirk,—King, Lords, and Commons in Scotland,—thirsted for the blood of the baffled exile, with an intensity of hatred that would admit no settlement of the Kingdom exclusive of that item. Moreover, Sir

[1] Throughout the libel the chief culprit is styled "John Colquhoun of Luss;" but the Messenger styles him "Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, Knight." It is remarkable, however, that the title of *Baronet* is not added, although Sir John was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in the month of August 1625.

[2] Orig. *Books of Adjournal.* Mr Pitcairn's publication of these Records is not brought down to this date, and consequently does not contain the prosecution of Sir John Colquhoun.

Thomas Hope of Craighall, was no longer "his Majesty's Advocate, for his Majesty's interest." He had resigned the dishonoured place in favour of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, Procurator of the Kirk, the demagogue *par excellence* of the troubles, who never ceased urging the Parliament, and urging the Kirk to urge the Parliament, to have mercy upon no prisoner in any way connected with the career of Montrose, and who never ceased proclaiming that mercy was not an attribute of justice, until it came to his own turn to be hanged.

In this state of affairs, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss again ventures on the scene, with a feeling, doubtless, that his diabolical seduction of the sister of Montrose was now no hanging matter, and a crime not difficult to atone.

This appears from the records of the Presbytery of Dumbarton. On the 20th of April 1647, Colquhoun of Balvie, and Colquhoun of Glens, present a petition to the Presbytery, in these terms, that their hitherto fugitive brother was returned like the prodigal son; that he had only just become aware of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him "when he was out of the country;" and that he now prayed that "some of *the brethern* might *confer with him* thereanent." Well did the "crafty and politic" Luss know the weak side of a Covenanting Presbytery. His *outlawry*, for having fled from justice—nay, the crime itself, was not his distress, and no longer his dread. But the fact of lying under *excommunication* was, in the year 1647, a serious and alarming predicament. The conference for which he petitioned was granted. "The Brethern" were never slow to obey a summons of the kind. So peculiar a case, indeed, promised a finer field-day for their inquisitorial activity, than even the most minute disclosures of some of those alleged *liaisons*, between the Devil and some toothless crone, for which the Presbyteries of the Covenant, according to their own records, had so curious a relish.[1] The identity of the culprit, and his crime, with what has been narrated before, is placed beyond all question by the report of this committee of conference. On the 11th of May 1647, they report to the Presbytery, that the Laird of Luss, "with many tears, did regret, and bemoan

[1] See the Presbytery Records of the period *passim*.

his case; and wished nothing more than to be received again into the bosom of his mother Kirk, where he was bred, born, and baptized; and where the ordinances of God were so *pure:* But he did *somewhat decline* a plain and *free confession*, of the sin of incest with his sister-in-law, Lady Katherine Graham, *till he had settled his estate in the world.*"

No expression of indignation or severity accompanies the report. No austere uncompromising deliverance follows. The clerical tribunal, which raked the gutters of their language for opprobrious terms against Montrose, "the malignant," seems willing to take at his word the man who had seduced, and by the vilest of arts, his young ward and sister-in-law. Here we have a very unequivocal illustration of the fact, that, with the Covenanting Kirk, there was no crime so great as a refusal to bow before its assumption of purity and power; and no stain upon the human heart so black as not to be obliterated by well-timed and abject offerings at the altar of the Covenant.

Luss appears to have escaped all further trouble on the subject, either from Kirk or State, which, indeed, were then identical in the question of prosecuting such delinquents. But his parish minister, Mr Archibald M'Lauchlane, it seems, had fallen into greater trouble at this time than Luss himself, in reference to that worthy's domestic affairs. Of the fate of Lady Lilias nothing is discovered. Of the rest of her numerous family the only particulars which these records contain, relate to a daughter, Montrose's niece, who appears to have been a backslider also. Of date 28th September 1647, the following entry occurs:—

"In the censure of Mr Archibald M'Lauchlane it is found, he has married Mr Walter Stewart upon Jean Colquhoun, daughter to the Laird of Luss, contrary to order; and, as is surmised, *without consent of her father.* He (the minister) affirms that he had the consent of her father, from Robert Colquhoun of Balernich, which he behoved to accept, because he was discharged (prohibited) to have any conference with the Laird of Luss, *being excommunicated:* And, for the breach of order, he acknowledges he proclaimed them, once upon a Thursday, his ordinary week-day of sermon, and twice upon the Lord's day thereafter; and that, at the earnest desire of the said Robert

Colquhoun, who professed to him that it was the earnest desire of the friends to have the marriage hastened: And, for their repentance, for their fall before marriage, they did, before the pulpit, acknowledge humbly their offence; which he was content to accept, because there was no scandal of them in the country; nor knew he any thing of it: The Presbytery continue (delay) their censure till their return from the Synod." The minister was afterwards ordered to be rebuked, in face of his congregation, for this breach of order.

But the troubles of this unlucky clergyman of Luss did not end here. Very soon afterwards, in 1648, as stated in the same record, "the Laird of Luss was married to ——— Baillie, daughter of Lochend, without proclamation of bands, by Mr Archibald M'Lauchlane, minister of Luss;" who, for that breach of order was suspended and deposed. The matter came before the General Assembly, "who did not consider that the married couple merited censure; but thought that the mother of the lady (now married to Kilbirnie), should confess her guilt in her own parish kirk."[1]

It is sad to reflect on the probable fate of Lady Katherine Graham, a daughter of one of the noblest houses in Scotland.

[1] Douglas, and other family historians, assert, that the Sir John Colquhoun of Luss who married Lady Lilias Graham, did not die until after the year 1654. If this be accurate, then the Laird of Luss who was irregularly married to "——— Baillie in 1648," is the same individual. But these writers also record, that the Sir John Colquhoun of Luss who was *the son* of Sir John Colquhoun and Lady Lilias Graham, married Margaret Baillie, sole heiress of Baillie of Lochend. If this, on the other hand, be accurate, then Sir John, the outlaw, must have died between the period of the notices of him, found in the Presbytery records in 1647, as above, and the notice of the irregular marriage of the heiress to Colquhoun of Luss in 1648. The dates, in so far as they have been obtained from the Presbytery records, approximate very closely to each other, and induce the surmise that the *outlaw* was he whom his clergyman married irregularly. We trust, however, for the sake of the lady, that the son, of whom no evil is known, was in reality the impatient bridegroom, and that the nefarious father had died not long after "somewhat declining a plain and free confession of the sin of incest with his sister-in-law, Lady Katherine Graham, till he had settled his estate in the world." The family history and genealogy of the Colquhouns of Luss has never been accurately deduced. For the extracts from the Presbytery Records of Dumbarton, I am indebted to my friend Mr Dennistoun of Dennistoun, whose historical research and accuracy is well known.

All knowledge of her, the very memory of her appears to have been at once obliterated in her own country. As the young Earl quitted Scotland immediately after the outlawry of his brother-in-law, we must cling to the hope, that he had made a point of discovering his ruined sister, and had provided some safe but secluded retreat for her abroad.

> "And *Luss*, *Carlippis*, *Katherine*, are gone,
> Alike without their monumental stone."

We have thus accounted for the five sisters of Montrose, with the exception of the youngest, Beatrix, whose fate we must now record. Deeply as, in the progress of this history, we shall find some of his female relatives involved in the fortunes of Montrose, and greatly as they suffered in his cause, such was not the fate of any of his sisters, who were probably all gone ere his stormy destinies were unfolded. The Lady Beatrix Graham was still unmarried in the year 1639. Her future welfare was occupying the anxious mind of Montrose, when, under the banner of the Covenant, he was about to lead its arms against the loyal town of Aberdeen. A deed of the following tenor was subscribed by him "at Auld Montrois, the 27th day of March 1639," and consigned to the keeping of Lord Napier, among whose papers it is yet preserved :—

"We, James Earl of Montrose, Lord Graham and Mugdok, for the singular and special love and favor which we have and bear to Lady Beatrix Graham, our lawful sister, and for the better advancing of the said Lady Beatrix to an honourable marriage, according to her rank and dignity,"—obliges himself and his heirs, to secure to the said Lady Beatrix the sum of twenty thousand merks for tocher. This condition, however, is added, doubtless under a melancholy reminiscence of the fate of Lady Katherine :—"Providing always, likeas we have given and granted these presents upon this special provision and condition, and no otherwise, that, in case it should happen the said Lady Beatrix—as God forbid—to defile her body, or to join herself in marriage with any person without our special advice

and consent, then and in these cases, or either of them, these presents to be null."

This object of her illustrious brother's solicitude was ere long married to David Drummond, third Lord Maderty, the intimate friend and faithful follower of Montrose. And thus "the bairn Beatrix," became eventually ancestress, through her second daughter Beatrix Drummond, of a long line of Earls of Hyndford.

CHAPTER VII.

MONTROSE ON HIS TRAVELS—HIS EDUCATION ABROAD—MINUTE DESCRIPTION OF HIS HABITS, AND PERSONAL APPEARANCE, BY SAINTSERF—BISHOP BURNET'S CHARACTER OF MONTROSE—HE VISITS THE ENGLISH COLLEGE AT PARIS—HIS RETURN HOME—HIS RECEPTION AT THE COURT OF ENGLAND BY CHARLES I.—DUPLICITY OF THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON—HEYLIN'S ANECDOTE OF MONTROSE'S RECEPTION BY THE KING—SIR PHILIP WARWICK'S CHARACTER OF HAMILTON—GUTHRIE'S ANECDOTE OF HIS DUPLICITY IN SCOTLAND.

To finish the education so auspiciously commenced, though interrupted, as we have seen, Montrose, upon attaining his majority, proceeded to the Continent in the year 1633. There we can only follow him, by means of a short but valuable notice of his movements, preserved to us by Thomas Saintserf, his faithful adherent, and constant and devoted admirer.

"In his younger days," says the son of the persecuted Bishop of Galloway, "he travelled France and Italy, where he made it his work to pick up the best of their qualities necessary for a person of honour. Having rendered himself perfect in the *Academies*, his next delight was to improve his *Intellectuals;* which he did by allotting a proportionable time to reading, and conversing with learned men; yet still so, that he used his *exercise* as he might not forget it. He studied as much of the mathematics as is required for a soldier. But his great study was *to read men*, and the *actions of great men*. Thus he spent *three years* in France and Italy; and would have surveyed the rarities of the East, if his domestic affairs had not obliged his return home; which chanced at that time the late Rebellion began to peep out."

This is the statement of a contemporary, accurately and minutely informed; and whose long habits of personal devotion to the hero, both enabled and impelled him to leave for pos-

terity a tracing also of his physique, not less graphic and trustworthy than those from the pencils of Honthorst and Jameson.

"I shall acquaint you," he says, "with both what I know myself, having followed him several years in his expeditions, and what I have learned from others of good name and credit. He was of a middle stature, and most exquisitely proportioned limbs; his hair of a *light chesnut;* his complexion betwixt pale and ruddy; his eye most penetrating, though inclining to grey; his nose rather aquiline than otherwise. As he was strong of body and limbs, so he was most agile, which made him excel most of others in those exercises where these two are required. In riding the great horse, and making use of his arms, he came short of none. I never heard much of his delight in dancing, though his countenance and other his bodily endowments were equally fitting the court as the camp."[1]

Saintserf's account of Montrose abroad, is quite in keeping with the view obtained of the young and ardent nobleman's character and habits, through the recently recovered evidence of his College life. His desire to "survey the rarities of the East," had doubtless been derived from his patronage of the Eastern traveller, William Lithgow, "the Bonaventure of Europe, Asia, and Africa," whose courtly muse

"Made Mars for valour canonize the Graham."

Bishop Burnet, whose manner—in his *posthumous* work—was

[1] The above is from "A Relation of the True Funerals of the great Lord Marquis of Montrose in the year 1661," which was penned by Saintserf, secretary to that celebrated pageant. He was also the author of some additions to a translation of Dr Wishart's Commentary on the Wars of Montrose, printed in the year 1661, under the title of *Montrose Redivivus.* There we find another portrait of the hero, precisely coinciding with the above, but somewhat varied in the phraseology, as follows:—"He was not very tall, nor much exceeding a middle stature, but of an exceeding strong composition of body, and an incredible force, joined with an excellent proportion and fine features. His hair was of a *dark-brown colour,* his complexion sanguine, of a quick and piercing gray eye, with a high nose, somewhat like the ancient sign of the magnanimity of the Persian kings. He was a man of a very princely carriage and excellent address, which made him be used by all princes, for the most part, with the greatest familiarity. He was a complete horseman, and had a *singular grace in riding.* He was of most resolute and undaunted spirit, which began to appear in him, to the wonder and expectation of all men, even in his childhood."

to relieve his favourite figures upon a back-ground of calumnious gossip, and to depreciate where it did not suit his purpose to be candid, refers to Montrose's travels and accomplishments *more suo*. He says that he was "a young man *well learned*, who had travelled, but had taken upon him the part of a hero *too much*, and lived as in a romance; for his whole manner was *stately to affectation*." Burnet's motive for depreciating Montrose was his own championship of the very different career of Hamilton, which could not have found a better champion. Having thus pictured Montrose as something very like a fool, the Bishop elsewhere pronounces him a coward:—"Montrose in his defeat took *too much* care of himself, for he was never willing to expose himself *too much*." Thus Montrose was both a hero "too much," and a poltroon "too much." But the passage proved *too much* for the Bishop's own son, whose pious fraud long deprived the world of the absurdity of this falsehood, by *suppressing* an accusation, which might with the same truth have been recorded of that brave old ruffian Cromwell, or of the Duke of Wellington in modern times.[1]

Another anecdote of Montrose's travels is derived from the same equivocal source, probably fact perverted by malice. "When Montrose," says the Bishop, "was beyond sea, he travelled with the Earl of Denbigh, and they consulted all the astrologers they could hear of: I plainly saw, the Earl of Denbigh relied on what had been told him to his dying day; and the rather, because the Earl of Montrose was promised a glorious fortune for some time, but all was to be overthrown in conclusion." *Selon les regles* of those desperate mortals who sell themselves to the Devil, we have here, upon the word of a Bishop, the enigma solved of Montrose's character and career. But without going quite so far, we may believe, that the young Earl had quitted his own country with a mind somewhat predisposed to whatever marvels he might have met with abroad, considering the sad story then pressing upon his mind of the enchanted and *intoxicated* jewel, and the machinations of Carlippis, "who was ane necromancer!"

[1] See the Oxford Edition of Burnet's History of his Own Times, restoring the suppressed passages, vol. i. pp. 53–71.

That Montrose had travelled, in their youth, with the disloyal son of that doughty Earl of Denbigh who fought and fell for Charles the First, is not elsewhere recorded; but we may accept it as a fact, since Burnet seems to say that he had it from Basil Fielding himself. Probably he belonged to a party of young noblemen and gentlemen visiting Rome in 1635, along with Montrose, and the Earl of Angus, whose father had been raised to the Marquisate of Douglas at the Coronation in 1633. From the records of the English College there, it appears, that "on the 27th of March 1635, two Scottish Earls, Angus and Montrose, in company with other four noble gentlemen of that nation, were entertained in our Refectory, with all the honours due to their rank." Our hero returned to his own country some time in the year 1636.

A youth of such lineage, figure, and high accomplishments, could not but anticipate the most gracious reception from his sovereign. There seems to be no doubt, however, that on his first appearance at Court he was received in a manner so repulsive as to intimate that his presence was not agreeable to the monarch. The circumstance is alluded to by various contemporary historians; but it could not have been explained, by any thing in the character either of the King or of Montrose, had not Heylin recorded the following curious particulars, both in his Life of Laud, and in his Commentary upon L'Estrange:

"The reason of James Earl of Montrose adhering to the Covenanters, as he afterwards *averred unto the King*, was briefly this:—At his return from the Court of France, where he was captain (as I take it) of the Scottish Guard, he had a mind to put himself into the King's service, and was advised to make his way by the Marquis of Hamilton, who, knowing the gallantry of the man, and fearing a competitor in his Majesty's favour, cunningly told him that he would do him any service, but that the King was so wholly given up to the English, and so discountenanced and slighted the Scottish nation, that, were it not for doing good service for his country, which the King intended to reduce to the form of a province, he could not suffer the indignities which were put upon him. This done he repairs unto the King, tells him of the Earl's return

from France, and of his purpose to attend him at the time appointed, but that he was so powerful, so popular, and of such esteem among the Scots, by reason of an old descent from the royal family, that, if he were not nipped in the bud, as we used to say, he might endanger the King's interest and affairs in Scotland. The Earl being brought unto the King, with great demonstration of affection on the Marquis's part, the King, without taking any great notice of him, gave him his hand to kiss, and so turned aside; which so confirmed the truth of that false report which Hamilton had delivered to him, that in great displeasure and disdain he makes for Scotland, where he found who knew how to work on such humours as he brought along with him, till, by seconding the information which he had from Hamilton, they had fashioned him wholly to their will."[1]

The remark of D'Israeli, however, is hasty and ill informed, that "the slighted and romantic hero, indignant at the coldness of that royalty which best suited his spirit, hastened to Scotland, and threw himself in anger and despair into the hands of the Covenanters."[2] Montrose no doubt deeply felt a slight which, until Hamilton's real character became known to him, must have appeared gratuitous on the part of his sovereign. But, although he arrived in his own country some time before the tumults broke out, the community there was worked up to its highest pitch of excitement before he became connected, privately or publicly, with those violent proceedings. Moreover, as will also be proved at a subsequent stage of this narrative, even then he joined the insurrection, not from a sudden impulse of passion, but in consequence of the representations

[1] Heylin's remarks upon L'Estrange, p. 205. In his Life of Laud, he tells the same story, but omits the surmise of Montrose having commanded the Guard of France. It was Huntly, not Montrose, who commanded that famous guard, whom Bossuet, in his eloquent funeral oration over Henrietta Maria, compliments at the expense of their country:—"Les Ecossois, à qu'il se donne, le livrent aux Parliamentaires Anglois—et les Gardes fidelles de nos Rois, trahissent le leur." Heylin, for his Life of Laud, had obtained some materials from personal conversations with Montrose's tutor, Lord Napier. After recording the particulars of the tithe policy of Charles, Heylin speaks of "the learned and right noble Lord of Merchiston, from whose mouth I had all this narration." It adds greatly to the authenticity of Heylin's anecdote, that he was in the habit of obtaining information from Lord Napier.

[2] Commentaries on the Life of Charles I.

and the earnest persuasions of the most influential spirits of the age.

We anticipate the progress of events, by something more than a twelvemonth from the time when Montrose returned to Scotland, in order to corroborate the anecdote derived from Heylin, with another which coincides with it in a remarkable manner, and which has also been preserved by a contemporary.

It is well known, that when Hamilton was dispatched to Scotland for the purpose of settling that convulsed kingdom in 1638, Montrose, who was now engaged as a leading organ of the agitation, came in contact with him again. According to the story we are about to narrate, Hamilton followed the very same tactics with which he had, not long before, mystified Montrose at Court. Again did that ill-omened voice startle the future champion of the throne with the faithless accents, which this time created more alarm, and sunk deeper into his heart. On the 5th of July 1638, they met at a conference occasioned by his Majesty's Declaration, against which the Covenanting party thought fit to remonstrate and protest. To this conference the Commissioner had summoned the Lords of Council, including Montrose's friend Lord Napier, and his father-in-law Lord Southesk. In their presence Montrose, along with Rothes and Loudon, attended by their clerical assessors Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, obtained a reception and hearing. But after their formal reception, and some words of official courtesy, uttered in presence of the Lords of Council, Hamilton took the covenanting deputation out of the presence-chamber into a corner of the great gallery of Holyroodhouse, where a scene occurred, which we must give in the words of the reverend covenanter who considered the incident worthy of a very precise record:—

"But that which came to be most talked of, was something which at their parting he told them *in private*. For, having desired those Lords of Council to stay in that chamber till his return, himself conveyed them (Montrose and his friends) through the rooms, and stepping into the gallery, drew them into a corner, and then expressed himself as follows:—

"'My Lords and gentlemen, I spoke to you before those Lords of Council, as the King's Commissioner: Now there being none

present but yourselves, I speak to you as a *kindly Scotsman:* If you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you please: But if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone: *A word is enough to wise men.*'"

This perfidy on the part of Hamilton, however incredible in itself, is nevertheless so well authenticated, and so corroborated by other circumstances, that it must be credited. It was thus circumstantially noted by Bishop Guthrie, then minister of Stirling, a covenanter who quitted the faction when he discovered its faithlessness. Aware that such an anecdote was not to be carelessly recorded, or easily believed, this clergyman thus pointedly adds the authentication:—

"This having been spoken in private, I should not have mentioned, were it not that it came shortly after to be public; and reports anent it were so different, that some made it better, and others worse than it was. My warrant for what I have set down are these: *First*, that *the very same day*, Mr Cant (one of those to whom it was said) told it to Dr Guild, who the next morning reported it to Mr David Dalgleish, minister at Cowpar, Mr Robert Knox, minister at Kelso, and Mr Henry Guthrie (the chronicler), minister at Stirling." So far the evidence is pretty direct; but what follows is of more weight, as it comes from Montrose himself to Guthrie; and Montrose, be it remembered, was one of those whom Hamilton addressed in private on that occasion:—

"*Secondly*, the said Henry being *that night* with the Earl of Montrose at supper, his Lordship drew him to a window, and there told it him, *in the very same terms* wherein Dr Guild had reported it to him; adding, that it wrought an impression, that my Lord Hamilton might intend, by this business, to advance *his design;*[1] but that he (Montrose) would suspend his judgment until he saw further, and in the meantime look more narrowly to his walking."[2]

[1] Alluding to the universal suspicion that Hamilton aimed at the throne of Scotland, a design for which Lord Reay had on former years publicly denounced him, when the King himself silenced the accusation, and saved the favourite.

[2] Guthrie's Memoirs. Mr D'Israeli, in his Commentaries, says:—"This remarkable conversation is given by Bishop Guthrie, who at the same time furnishes his authorities; the same story had *reached Montrose* in the same words." It seems,

The whole conduct of Hamilton, as Prime Minister for distracted Scotland, is in keeping with these anecdotes, and justifies the estimate which Montrose came to form of his character. When we compare his demeanour and expressions to the Covenanters in Scotland, with his private letters to the King, that miserable and short-sighted system of cheating both, the resource of a mind as feeble as it was false, is laid bare at once. We have a portrait of him transmitted through the honest pen of the good Sir Philip Warwick:—

"I was in the Presence-chamber at Whitehall," says Sir Philip, "when, after his father's death, he (the Marquis of Hamilton) returned from his travels; and, waiting on the King from chapel with great observance, and the King using him with great kindness, the eyes of the whole Court were upon the young man. His hair was short, and he wore a little black callot-cap, which was not then usual; and I wondered much that all present, who usually at Court put the best character upon a rising man, generally agreed in this, that the air of his countenance had such a cloud on it that nature seems to have impressed *aliquid insigne;* which I often reflected on when his future actions led him first to be suspected, then to be declaimed against. I have lately seen the memoirs of a countryman of his, who is master of a very good pen, and hath represented this great man by a light which few others, either of his own nation or ours, discovered him by.[1] Willingly I would sully no man's fame, especially so eminent a person's, for to *write invectives* is more criminal than to *err in eulogies.* As for myself I was known unto him and ever civilly treated by him: However, I must concur in that general opinion, that naturally he loved to gain his point rather by some *serpentine winding* than by a direct path; which was very contrary to the nature of his younger brother (Lanerick), of whom that gallant loyal peer, the Earl of Montrose, was wont to say, that even when this gentleman was his enemy and in arms against the King, he did it open-faced and without the least *treachery* either to his Majesty

however, to have escaped the critical observation of D'Israeli, that the conversation was held with Montrose himself, and that it was he who repeated it to Guthrie on the same day, and in the very words Guthrie had it from Dr Guild.

[1] Bishop Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

or any of his ministers,—a character worthy of a great man, though deflecting from duty."

Baillie, one of the leaders of the covenanting clergy,—of whom more anon—thus describes Hamilton, as he made his vice-regal progress from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, through a vast multitude of the malcontents, elaborately organized to give the royal Commissioner a significant reception. "The Marquis," he says, "on the way was much moved to pity, *even to tears*. He professed, thereafter, his desire to have had King Charles present at that sight of the whole country, so earnestly and humbly crying for the safety of their Liberties and Religion." This was in the month of June 1638. But mark how the sympathizing and sentimental Commissioner writes to the King on the 27th of November following;—

"It is more than probable that these people have somewhat else in their thoughts than religion, but this must serve for *a cloak to rebellion*, wherein for a time they may prevail; but to *make them miserable*, and bring them again to a dutiful obedience, I am confident your Majesty will not find it a work of long time, nor of great difficulty, as they have foolishly fancied to themselves.—I have missed my end in not being able to make your Majesty so considerable a party as will be able to curb *the insolence of this rebellious nation* without assistance from England, and greater charge to your Majesty than this *miserable country* is worth."[1]

It was shortly before, that he had startled the young and unsophisticated Montrose, with his sly *verbum sapienti*, in the character of "a kindly Scotsman." In that same letter to the King, however, he thus notices Montrose; and the singular coincidence of this double-dealing, with the anecdotes recorded by Heylin and Guthrie, affords the strongest corroboration:—

"Now, for the Covenanters, I shall only say this: In general they may all be placed in one roll, as they now stand; but certainly, Sire, those that have both broached the business, and still hold it aloft, are Rothes, Balmerino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudon, Yester, Cranston. There are many others as forward in show, amongst whom *none more vainly foolish than Montrose*."

In short, to Montrose, and the rest of the covenanting depu-

[1] Letter in the Hardwicke Collection, dated 27th November 1638.

tation, Hamilton shedding tears of sympathy for the covenanting cause, represents the King his master, by whom he was anxiously commissioned to settle the kingdom, as such an enemy to Scotland, that, in order to be overcome, he must be energetically opposed by the same means they had hitherto used. To his Majesty, on the other hand, with whom he is corresponding at the same time, he reviles Scotland in terms of bitter execration, and recommends the severest measures of tyranical coercion. He names the leading Covenanters, of the nobility of Scotland, with malicious personality, and then points to the young Earl of Montrose, not indeed as one of the deep contrivers of the Covenant, but as a weak and showy adherent, intoxicated with a vain ambition, dangerous to the State,—the very character which he had fastened upon the young and inexperienced nobleman, when persuading the King to shew him no countenance at Court.

Hamilton's heart can only be defended at the expense of his head. The influence of his mother was paramount with him in Scotland; and had instilled into his shapeless mind vague ideas of reigning in that kingdom, as monarch of a Scotch millenium. This lady was the noted Ann Cunningham, of the right covenanting breed, being a daughter of the Earl of Glencairn. She was the unrivalled leader of the female church-militant in Scotland. Her officers were the Nicholas Balfours, Eupham Hendersons, Bethia and Elpsa Craigs, and other "godly matrons" of the Covenant. Her veteran guards were such as the stool-propelling *Jenny Geddes*—and her light troops, the "serving-maids" recorded so exultingly by Robert Baillie, and his Majesty's Advocate Sir Thomas Hope,—as the *first victors* against Episcopacy! The Marquis was about ten years older than Montrose, and from boyhood had obtained that ascendency over the affections and judgment of Charles which enters so deeply into the history of the times. The control exercised by the "serpentine" Hamilton, was not less pernicious to the country and the King, than had been the influence of Buckingham. In secret, and while, perhaps, only contemplating petty and selfish results, his deceptive and wavering conduct sapped the foundations of the throne itself. Burnet has most artfully laboured to gain for him greater favour with posterity than he

deserves. But Clarendon, in a single sentence, throws more light upon the Marquis's character:—"His natural darkness," he says, "and reservation in discourse, made him be thought a wise man, and his having been in command under the King of Sweden, and his *continual discourse* of battles and fortifications, made him be thought a soldier; and both *these mistakes* were the cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and more dangerous man, than, in truth, he deserved to be." He has, indeed, been suspected of designs in his political life, probably beyond the range of his vice, and certainly above the flight of his genius or daring. Clarendon, however, throughout his history, appears to have formed precisely the same estimate of the favourite's sincerity and patriotism that Sir Philip Warwick had done. Vandyke has handed him down to posterity, sheathed in bright armour, and grasping his baton, as if he had led the Archer Guard of France, and saved the Crown at home. Alas! he added nothing to the loyal chivalry of his princely house; and when he discoursed of battles, and of Gustavus Adolphus, the characteristic which Burnet attributes to Montrose, may be justly transferred to his insidious enemy, as being one who took upon himself the part of a hero "*too much*." In his warlike expeditions, not very numerous, but most unhappily conspicuous, he exhibited failures scarcely conceivable (considering the occasions and his resources) in a nobleman who behaved with becoming dignity on the scaffold, and touching whose personal courage the severest remark ever made was that uttered by his long-trusting, long-suffering master, when he told the Earl of Lanerick that he believed *him* to be an honest man, but that he thought his brother (the Marquis) had been very active in his *own* preservation.[1]

[1] A Relation of the Incident, 1641, by Lord Lanerick,—Hardwicke's State Papers, Vol. ii. p. 299.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLES THE FIRST AND HIS SCOTTISH COURTIERS AND COUNSELLORS—LORD NAPIER'S CHARACTER OF THE KING—HIS ACCOUNT OF THE MANNER IN WHICH HE WAS DECEIVED AND CHEATED—PROGRESS OF AFFAIRS TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE TROUBLES.

THE anecdotes, narrated in the previous Chapter, of the duplicity and ruinous double-dealing of the King's minion, cuts deeply into the question of the monarch's conduct and character, with which the character of Montrose is now for ever identified. To illustrate more fully, from new and authentic sources, the false medium through which Charles I. was compelled to regard and to transact all matters connected with the government of Scotland, is well worthy of a chapter by itself. As we derive our information from the contemporary manuscripts of Lord Napier, we may be assured that Montrose, at a very early period of his career, was cognizant of the shameful deception practised upon the King, by Scotchmen of the highest rank and trust in the State, and that he knew well how to discriminate between the faults of the monarch, and the crimes of those whom he trusted, and who wilfully misled him.

The Marquis of Hamilton was not the only Scotch nobleman who abused the ear, and vitiated the counsels of the King. Charles, from the moment of his accession, lived and moved, and had his being, amid an atmosphere of deception and falsehood, with which his Scottish courtiers surrounded him. Of this fact we find some curious illustrations among Lord Napier's manuscripts, which have never entered history. Yet even our latest historian—he who execrates Charles the First, and deifies Cromwell—might change his hand and check his pride, would he condescend to pause on the faithful report of one of the few Scottish courtiers who, as his own Sovereign declared of him, was "free from partiality or any factious humour." For seven-

teen years in the Bed-chamber of King James, for twenty-six years a Privy Councillor in both reigns, Lord Napier's estimate of Charles I., noted in private long ere the civil war arose, is of more value than many pages of the vituperative eloquence with which the latest historian of England has thought fit to assail him.

"King James being dead," says Lord Napier, "and his son King Charles succeeding to him in his kingdom—and to his virtues too, although with some want of experience, which is only got with time—all the turbulent and discontented humours of the former time were up—as is usual in these great transitions—and plied his Majesty incessantly with accusations, personal aspersions, new projects, and informations of abuses. And truly there wanted not matter, and their endeavours had deserved praise, if spleen to the persons of men, and their own private interest, had not given life and motion to their proceedings, rather than the service of the King, and the good of the State. Then there was nothing but factions and factious consultations,—of the one, to hold that place and power they possessed before,—of the other, to wrest it out of their hands, and to invest themselves. And no dream or phantasy of innovation came in anybody's head, but presently he durst vent it to the King; and still the most ignorant were the boldest."

Neither was Lord Napier insensible to a weakness in the character of Charles, which was at the root of all that monarch's misfortunes. D'Israeli quotes from the Sloane manuscripts a remark of St John, that "the truth is, the King had an unhappiness of adhering to, and unweariedly pursuing the advices of others, and mistrusting his own, though often-times more safe and better than those of other persons." Clarendon also says, "he had an excellent understanding, but was not confident of it, which made him often-times change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself." These impressions were recorded after the scenes of the great Rebellion had passed away. Napier, a close observer of the times, as well as of his royal master, noted down reflections to the very same effect long ere those scenes had commenced. Before the name of Covenanter was applied, or the Covenant imagined, he had detected, in

these dispositions of his royal master, the too fertile sources of future evil. Among the fragments of his private manuscripts, which time has spared, there is one which bears the title, " A short Discourse upon some incongruities in matters of State." This prophetic document, written soon after the Coronation in Scotland, and with manifest reference to the obnoxious fact of the Archbishop of St Andrews having been made Lord Chancellor of Scotland, commences by protesting against that dangerous policy to which Montrose also pointed, even in his dying hour, as the most ruinous element in the misgovernment of Charles the First. " That churchmen have competency," says Napier, " is agreeable to the law of God and man. But to invest them into great estates, and principal offices of the State, is neither convenient for the Church, for the King, nor for the State. Not for the Church, for the *indiscrete zeal* and excessive donations of princes, were the first causes of corruption in the Roman church, the taste whereof did so inflame the avarice and ambition of the successors, that they have raised themselves above all secular and sovereign power, and to maintain the same have obtended to the world certain devices of their own for *matters of faith:* Not to Kings, nor States,—for histories witness what troubles have been raised to Kings, what tragedies among subjects, in all places where *churchmen were great.* Our reformed churches, having reduced religion to the ancient primitive truth and simplicity, ought to beware that corruption enter not in their church at the same gate, which already is open with store of attendants thereat, to welcome it with pomp and ceremony."

Unfortunately Laud entertained sentiments diametrically opposed to the above, which it is interesting to compare with a passage in Clarendon, written at a much later period. Laud " did really believe that nothing more contributed to the benefit and advancement of the Church, than the promotion of churchmen to places of the greatest honour, and offices of the highest trust. This opinion, and the prosecution of it (though his integrity was unquestionable, and his zeal as great for the good and honour of the State as for the advancement and security of the Church), was the *unhappy foundation of his own ruin, and of*

the prejudice towards, malice against, and almost destruction of the Church."

A vein of playful sarcasm at times breaks out, and enlivens the anxious reflexions of Montrose's preceptor and friend. " It is the humour," he says, " of some of greatest trust and credit about princes, to slight and cry down any motion, though never so good, which doeth not proceed immediately or mediately from themselves ; and, upon every occasion that occurreth, will rather give bad information, and worse advice, than give way to others, or seem incapable of any thing themselves. Much like that gentleman who rode out, in the company of others, to bring in the Pope to a city in Italy. The Pope asking many questions, and inquiring the names of cities, rivers, and places, that came within his view as he went along, this gentleman *made answers to all*, and *gave names to every thing*, but *never a true one*, being himself ignorant of the same : So he continued in discourse with the Pope till he came to his lodging; and when a friend of his rebuked him for abusing his Holiness with untruths, ' If (said he), I had seemed ignorant of what was asked, the Pope would have called another; so, should I forego the honour I had, to be seen riding so near the Pope and in speech with him ? And he rests as well satisfied as if the truth had been exactly told him.'

" And truly, if ever any king, our sovereign, in so far as concerneth *Scottish business*, may justly make Dioclesian's complaint,—*Colligunt se quatuor aut quinque circa Imperatorem, atque sibi utilia, sub pretextu boni publici et principis, proponunt—bonos, et virtute præditos, ab Imperatore amovent—malos, factiosos et sibi idoneos adsciscunt, veritatem ad aures principis appellere non sinunt,* —SIT BONUS, SAPIENS, CAUTUS, DECIPITUR IMPERATOR."

These last words are written emphatically large in the manuscript. It is a speech put in the mouth of the Emperor Dioclesian, after his voluntary abdication of the throne, when declaiming on his favourite topic, the difficulty of being a good prince. Gibbon thus freely translates the passage :—" How often is it the interest of four or five ministers to combine together to deceive their Sovereign ! Secluded from mankind by his exalted dignity, the truth is concealed from his knowledge, —he can see only with their eyes, he hears nothing but their

misrepresentations. He confers the most important offices upon vice and weakness, and disgraces the most virtuous and deserving among his subjects. By such infamous arts the best and wisest princes are sold to the venal corruptions of their courtiers."[1]

In illustration of this miserable state of affairs, Lord Napier enters into some very curious details, which bear upon them the stamp of truth, and suggest reflections that might have modified many a page of modern history. How the King was enveloped in the meshes of petty faction, how liable to be imposed upon, and how willing to do justice if he could but arrive at the truth, receives an apt illustration from what we are about to quote; and as this incident of secret history is graphically told, and brings Charles himself on the scene, characterised by that peculiar brusqueness of address which bespeaks the authenticity of the portrait, no apology need be offered for extracting the entire passage from the manuscript of one of his few faithful and honest attendants:—

"His Majesty," says Lord Napier, "being possessed that the lease of Orkney was given to me upon trust, not only to pay the whole rent to the King, but also all benefit that should accress to me as taksman,—while I was at Court, had given command to one (*whom*, I do not know, nor could ever learn, although I used *extraordinary importunity* with the King for that purpose), to repare to me, and will me, in his Majesty's name, to surrender the lease of Orkney to the King. The party *never came to me*, nor *told any body else* that he had such commission from his Majesty to me. But after I had kissed his Majesty's hand, and taken horse for Scotland, he framed this answer to the King, *as from me*, that I would stand out in law against his Majesty, and that in justice the King could not take the lease from me. How soon I knew the cause of his Majesty's displeasure against me, I sent a power to Sir William Balfour to make the surrender, to whom the King expressed his anger against me in great measure. When I came up I found his

[1] The quotation in Lord Napier's manuscript is from *Vopiscus*, a learned Syracusan, reckoned the Coryphæus among the six authors, called *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*.

countenance altered, and therefore desired the Marquis of Hamilton to procure me access and hearing, which for a long time he could not obtain, because (said the King), 'he will not surrender his lease of Orkney to me.'"

A firm but respectful letter of expostulation to his Majesty from Napier (yet preserved among the archives of his family), procured for him the audience he desired, at which the following dialogue occurred :—

NAPIER. "Sir, your Majesty has been hardly possessed of me, a long time, by sinister information, and I am not conscious to myself of so much as a thought other than becomes a faithful servant.

THE KING. "No? Did not you refuse to surrender your lease of Orkney to one who had commission from me to demand it to my use?

NAPIER. "Truly, Sir, never man demanded it of me, neither did I know that such was your pleasure till I heard in Scotland of your Majesty's anger for my refusing.

THE KING. "Did not you say to him that you would stand out in law against me, which is also under you hand?

NAPIER. "Do me the favonr, Sir, to let me know to whom your Majesty gave that commission, and confront us before you, and I doubt not to make him confess that he has abused your Majesty with an untruth; and if any such thing can be shown under my hand, I will not only give the hand, but the head also to be stricken off.

"Then did I press *with importunity* to know this fine commissioner; but his Majesty by no means would do it.

THE KING. "It is enough, I am satisfied, and do not believe it.

"Then did I tell his Majesty what storm was prepared against me at my Lord of Mar's upcoming, that I desired no more but impartial hearing, and protection if my cause were honest, which he graciously promised, and thereupon gave me a kiss of his hand.

"Some two or three days after my Lord of Mar's arriving at court, they altogether, and singly when they had opportunity, vexed the King with their calumnies, urging him to send me

home to be judged, a point which they laboured by all means,[1] so that the King, for his own quiet, was, I may say, forced to send Sir Archibald Acheson, the other secretary, to me (for my Lord Stirling excused himself upon the hate I carried to him), to tell me that there were many informations against me, therefore desired to know whether I would stand to my justification, or submit myself to him. I answered that I was much bound to his Majesty, and would myself give his Majesty my answer, and, I doubted not, satisfaction. Which Sir Archibald having reported, I put myself in the King's way the next day when he was going from dinner. He beckoned to me, and I followed him into his bed-chamber, and being alone with him,—

Napier. "Sir, I have received your pleasure by Sir Archibald Acheson, and humbly thank your Majesty for having given me a choice to stand to my justification, or submit myself to your Majesty. I will not, Sir, absolutely justify myself before God, nor before you. Your Majesty might have had a servant of more eminent abilities, but never a faithfuller nor more diligent, nor better affected. And as for submitting myself to your Majesty, if my life or estate were in question, I could lay them both down at your feet; but this is my honour (dearer to me than both), which loses by submitting, and cannot be repaired by your Majesty, nor any King in the world.

"The words at first seeming sharp and brusk, he mused a little, then burst out with these,—

The King. "By God, my Lord, you have reason.

"And withal he told me some of their informations.

Napier. "Sir, their hate against me is for no cause given by me, and to most of them I have done real courtesies, but because I will not comply with them, nor give way to their desires, to your Majesty's prejudice, and your subjects, and for your Majesty's service and my undertakings in it. But, Sir, I desire no more but the most rigorous and exact trial that can be desired, so it be just, and *your Majesty my judge*, and that I be not remitted to Scotland, where my enemies are to be my judges, and where, if I were as innocent as Jesus Christ, I

[1] This we shall find was also at all times a great object of the covenanting faction, namely, that the King should put those whom they accused into their merciless hands in Scotland.

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should be condemned. For the more exact the trial be, the more shall my faithfulness and integrity appear to your Majesty; and I will not only answer for my own actions, but if wife, friend, or servant (who, by corrupt officiars, usually are set out to be bawds to their bribery) have done wrong, I am content it be imputed to me. If I had cozened your Majesty, and oppressed your people, and then made some men sharers in the prey, you Majesty had not been troubled now, nor I thus persecuted, but had been delivered to your Majesty for a good and faithful servant.

" Then his Majesty promised that he would hear all himself, which was a point I desired much to gain, and did serve me afterwards to good purpose.

NAPIER. " Then, Sir, be pleased to make these informers set down their informations in writing, and set their hands to it, and within three hours after I shall either give a punctual and satisfactory answer, or otherways your Majesty may dispose of me at your pleasure.

" His Majesty was pleased with the course, and I took my leave. Immediately thereafter the Earl of Mar and the whole troop of my adversaries (who were waiting in the Earl's chamber till I should come from the King), expected a surrender of place and all to the King, because of the word *satisfaction* that I used to Sir Archibald Acheson. As they came down stairs slowly, because of my Lord Mar's lameness,[1] one said, this is like the Lord Napier, who is going down by degrees. Another, as they were going through the court, told his friend that asked, that they were all going to give the Lord Napier *the last stroke*. In this insulting humour they came to the King, who told them that I affirmed all their informations to be calumnies, and that I would stand to my justification, and commanded them to set down their accusations and informations in writing under their hand, and to deliver the same to me to be answered.

[1] Of this John seventh Earl of Mar, Scotstarvet says,—" His chief delight was in hunting, and he procured, by acts of Parliament, that none should hunt within divers miles of the King's house; yet often that which is most pleasant to a man is his overthrow; for walking in his own hall, a dog cast him off his feet and lamed his leg, of which he died; and at his burial a hare having run through the company, his special chamberlain, Alexander Stirling, fell off his horse, and broke his neck."

This, falling out far beyond their expectation, astonished them a little, especially the Earl of Mar, who fell down upon his knees with his crutches, and, with tears, intreated the King to free him of my trouble, and that he could not serve with me, thus stirring pity to cause injustice. To whom the King said,—

THE KING. "My Lord, I would do you any favour, but I cannot *do injustice for you.*

"For the space of eight days after, I was free of their pursuit, so long as the King remained in Hampton Court, for the command to set down in writing under their hands did much amaze them. But every day they had their meetings and consultations how to overthrow me, and being ignorant of the King's promise to hear all himself, all their endeavours tended to get me remitted to Scotland, and *then* they were sure of their desire. His Majesty, having removed to Theoball's, asked the secretary if the informations in writing were delivered to me, and commanded it to be done instantly. This put them in some fear that the Lord of Traquair and his friends had procured this (who was one expecting the place if I should have been put out of it, and a man of another faction than Monteith and the secretary), and, therefore, by the Earl of Carrick they most earnestly dealt with me afresh to treat with Sir James Baillie, adding great promises, but with the like success as before. The Secretary then sent me the informations, inclosed within a letter of his own to me, shewing that it was his Majesty's pleasure that I should send the answers to him to be delivered by him to the King; but I would not do so. When I opened the articles of accusation I found no hand at them, but written on a little piece of paper, so near the end thereof as not one letter could be written more, of purpose that, if the King should urge them to set to their hands upon a sudden, they might gain some time, in writing them over, to consult upon the matter. I presently drew up the answers, and on the morrow I told his Majesty that I had received these articles, and that there was no hand at them.

THE KING. "That is all one; you know the matter now, and may answer it.

NAPIER. "Sir, there is no judicature, civil or criminal, can

be established without these necessary members, a judge, a pursuer, and a defender. True it is in Scotland, in the factious times, men were called in without knowing either crime or pursuer, which they called *super inquirendis*, but that barbarous and unjust custom was abolished, by your Majesty's father, by an express act of Parliament yet standing in force. I hope your Majesty will not introduce it again, and make me the precedent of it.

THE KING. "If it be so, they *must* set to their hands, and and *shall* set to their hands."

NAPIER. "Upon my allegiance, Sir, it is so. But I believe they will never do it, not for fear of me, but, knowing in their consciences that they are mere forged calumnies, they know they shall succumb in the probation, and then they fear your just displeasure. Beside, Sir, they think your Majesty will not deny me place to recriminate them, after I am cleared myself, and then they know they cannot come fair off. But, Sir, do me the favour to press them to subscribe the articles, and if they refuse, yet, for your Majesty's satisfaction, I shall answer punctually, and deliver the answers into your own hand.

"The King was well pleased, and indeed pressed them to subscribe. But they having met, and each of them putting the accusation upon another, and Sir James Baillie objecting their promise to accuse me, to some of greatest place for onerous causes, no man of all that great number, great nor small, was found that durst set to their hand. Such force hath truth!"

That the King's Advocate, whom Napier characterises as "a base follower of greatness, and maliciously eloquent,"—actually countenanced secret meetings for organizing sedition,—that the gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber were capable of picking his Majesty's pockets, in order to make themselves master of his private correspondence,—that Hamilton, whom Charles trusted above all others, was constantly betraying him to his enemies, —these, and other mysterious anecdotes of the rise and progress of the covenanting faction, do not appear so incredible after reading what we have extracted from Lord Napier's manuscripts, and still less so when we find, by the following, how very low Scottish noblemen could stoop, in falsehood and treachery, to attain their private ends.

The death of Napier's coadjutor in the Exchequer of Scotland, the Earl of Mar, had just placed the Treasurer's staff in the hands of the Earl of Morton. The office of Treasurer-depute was greatly coveted by the Earl of Traquair, who, according to the vicious habit of the times, organized a faction for the purpose of obtaining his object *per fas aut nefas*. Having failed to procure a vacancy by inducing a voluntary resignation, the plan was adopted of driving Napier from his post, by pretending to have obtained the King's authority for reducing him to a mere cypher in the office, which properly was most important and independent. The mode in which this scheme was attempted to be carried through, by a system of forgery and falsehood that would have disgraced the meanest subjects in the realm, must be given in Lord Napier's own graphic words. The chief actors in the following extraordinary scene, were noblemen, be it observed, who held the highest offices in the realm. The Lord Chancellor, Sir George Hay, afterwards created Earl of Kinnoul, and the Earl of Monteith, who was President of the Council, and Lord Justice-General, we have already had occasion to mention in a previous chapter, when the young Montrose was visiting them in 1629.

"About this time (1630) the Treasurer, Morton, came from Court, and, finding that I was not to be dealt with, the Chancellor Monteith, and he, to make me loath the service (which in my secretest thoughts I did long ago), undertook a business no way honourable for them, and which hereafter might prove dangerous if any of them should happen to fall from the King's favour. There was, after the death of King James, a commission of the Exchequer sent down by his Majesty now reigning, under his hand (for by the death of his father all former commissions expired), and left undated, to those who were of the former; the manner of which commission is this: The King signs a commission in paper, which thereafter is ingrossed in parchment, translated in Latin, and the King's Great Seal appended to it, and the paper under the King's hand is kept for a warrant to the Great Seal. This commission in paper under the King's hand being sent down, and being defective, or at least the King's Advocate would have it to seem so, because it was not drawn up by him, was not passed the seals, but kept

by him, the chancellor, or secretary, and another sent up of the Advocate's penning, which being sent down again signed by the King, was passed the seals, which was the warrant of all the Exchequer's proceedings six years after. The old unpassed signature of commission they took, and where these words 'Treasurer or Treasurer-depute' occurred (as they did very often through the body of the signature), they made Mr William Chamber, in a chamber of Holyroodhouse, put a mark betwixt treasurer and treasurer-depute, before 'or,' and in the margin write these words 'in his absence,' so that it was to be read 'Treasurer, or, *in his absence*, Treasurer-depute,' and the word in the margin about five or six several times subscribed by Morton and Monteith. Besides, they inserted the date, 'Whitehall, 28th June 1630,' with new black ink, where all the rest was worn whitish, and it was torn in the foldings, which ocular inspection bewrayed the antiquity and falsehood of the same. So by this commission I was to do nothing (directly contrary to my patent, and the purpose of the institution of that office), the Treasurer being present.

"About twelve o'clock I got intelligence that there was a new commission brought down by the Treasurer, Morton, and was at the seals. I presently went to the Director of the Chancery's chamber,[1] who showed it to me, and said he marvelled much how the Chancellor durst append the Great Seal upon such a warrant. I viewed it as well as I could in so short a space. At two o'clock thereafter, the Exchequer convened, where, before the Chancellor, lay this signature of commission, and the double in parchment in Latin, with the Great Seal thereat, together with two letters of the King's. We being all set, the Chancellor gave the signature in paper to the clerk to be read, and the double in Latin with the seal, in parchment, to the King's Advocate to be collated. The clerk had much ado to read it, it was so worn, being now made use of *six years* after it was signed by the King. But I, seeing two of the King's letters unbroken up, took no exceptions at the signature (suspecting that they did contain something to supply the defects and informality of the signature), till the letters were read,

[1] Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, whose well known manuscript, entitled "The Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen," is preserved in the Advocates' Library.

which contained nothing of that purpose. Then I rose up and said,—

NAPIER. "My Lords, this is a strange signature, and such as I never saw—(and was going on, my Lord Morton interrupted me, and rose from his place in a great anger saying),

MORTON. "The first day that I have the honour to sit here, and carry this white staff, I must hear my honour called in question impertinently!

NAPIER. "My Lord, I do not call your honour in question pertinently nor impertinently, neither is it my custom towards any, although some men have done so to me.

CHANCELLOR. "By God, but you have.

"(When I spoke before the Lords in Sergeant Walthew's business, my words were, that that business was reported to the King by men ill affected to me, *except one honest man, Sir James Fullarton:* the Chancellor would conclude, against himself and the Secretary, that I said *they* were *not honest*, by consequence; which gave him occasion to answer me so bruskly at this time).

NAPIER. "But my Lord, give me leave to answer my Lord Morton first, and then you when you please. My Lord (turning towards Morton), your Lordship is very hot with me, but be assured there is nothing done amiss which concerns either the King's service, or me in my particular, that I will stand in awe of any man to question.

MORTON. "This was done by the King's direction, and we will answer it.

MONTEITH. "My Lord Napier, you are so passionate in your own particular, that you will not forbear to question what the King commanded! For his Majesty *stood by while it was done*, and we will answer it.

NAPIER. "If it had been the King's direction, why would you not bestow upon him a clean sheet of paper, and ingrossed these marginal notes of yours in the body of the signature, rather than made use of this old torn thing? Then needed not the signature, with the King's hand at it, receive validity from yours upon the margin.

"But he, that never was ashamed to do or say any thing, still affirmed that his Majesty *stood by* till he saw them subscribe, and that it was his direction.

NAPIER. " My Lord, I marvel that you are not ashamed to say so. Let the Lords look the date with a blacker ink than the rest, ' at White-hall the 28th June 1630 ;'—*then you were there*, you say, with the King? Your Lordship has ridden fast ; for *you were here, and presided in council, the 29th of June* 1630 ; to verify which, I desire that the clerk of Council's book of sederunt may be produced ; and, my Lord Morton, *your Lordship set out of London before him*!

" Monteith, being convicted of a manifest untruth in presence of all the Lords, was so confounded and surprised with it, that he made this answer, nothing to the purpose,—

MONTEITH. " My Lord, I brought not the signature home !

" All this while the Lords were silent, hung down their heads, and were ashamed on their behalf, and even the Chancellor himself sat mute."

Other anecdotes, scarcely less disgraceful to the distinguished actors, are recorded by Lord Napier, in the same manuscript Relation, which he merely intended for the perusal of his own family and friends, in reply to this storm of petty faction. The result came to be, that Traquair procured his own nomination as joint Treasurer-depute ; but, adds Lord Napier, " without fee or pension, of which he was glad, or seemed so, and took a kiss of the King's hand upon it. Monteith and the Secretary (Stirling) did exceedingly please themselves with this device, and did every where proclaim it, arrogating so much to their own judgment and dexterity as was hateful to every wise man. And indeed they were in nature not unlike in this, that no living man was ever more vain-glorious than they both, but different in the expressing of that humour. For the Secretary was a gross and downright flatterer of himself, and drew all discourses from their proper subject *to his own praise.* Monteith did the same, but, *as he thought*, more subtily, but indeed so ridiculously as gave matter of mirth to all those to whom it was related." These portraits remind us of Clarendon. Indeed, had Napier survived the Troubles, and been spared to complete his History of the Times, for which, as we learn from Dr Wishart, he had elaborately prepared materials, Clarendon's deficiencies with regard to Scotch affairs, would have been amply supplied,

and history saved from much of the spurious hearsay gossip of Burnet. Of the state of matters immediately preceding the Troubles in Scotland, he emphatically declares, that, " for bribery at all hands, concussion of the people, and abusing of the King, no age can parallel,"—the period (1630) in which he is writing. And thus he sums up his melancholy illustrations of that total absence of honour and integrity, among the most influential statesmen of the day, which ere long brought all to ruin. " This preceding Relation," Lord Napier says, " being written in haste, and imperfect, many passages being omitted, for brevity's sake, which might have shown the iniquity of these times, is nevertheless most true. And thereby the judicious may perceive the former settled manner of government shaken, by frequent innovations intertained and practised; factions in Court and State a-foot; accusations, calumnies, and aspersions ordinary; and, which was worse, combinations, and hopes given thereby of great service to the King, without any performance; but, on the contrary, his Majesty's just and gracious inclination abused by misinformations; his ears blocked up and so straightly beleagured *that truth could not approach them;* and all for their own profit and prejudice of the King and State; the presence of honest men, who could not comply with them in their oblique courses, so hateful that they could not endure it; and so bold, in consideration of the strength of their leagues, that they did not stick to *falsify the King's hand*, surreptitiously to *steal his Majesty's superscriptions*, and to frame letters *contrary to his meaning*, and many other things of that kind."

It was amid such an atmosphere of petty but distracting factions, that Charles the First passed the short period of his reign which, at the time, was the admiration and envy of Europe for its apparent prosperity and repose. Such scenes were rife during those few years, immediately preceding the revolt of Scotland, when, says Clarendon, " Britain enjoyed the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age for so long time together have been blessed with." But we see how small was the share enjoyed by the monarch, of that national ease for promoting which he has obtained the eulogy of the great Clarendon, though Mr Hallam will not admit that it was merited. With domestic virtues, and private accomplishments,

infinitely superior to the age in which he suffered, we find this truly Christian King,—in the single item of settling claims and disputes among those leading Scotsmen to whom he looked for assistance in the government of Scotland,—deceived, harassed, cheated, insulted and chafed, at the very time to which Mr Hallam alludes when he says, "we may acknowledge without hesitation that the kingdom had grown during this period into remarkable prosperity and affluence." But if the King's own dispositions created none of this happiness (the position Mr Hallam maintains against Clarendon), neither, alas! was it for the King to share. We suspect after all, that such contemporary observers as Lord Clarendon in English affairs, and Lord Napier in Scotch, are safer guides to our estimate of the quality of the times, and the character of the King, than either Hallam or Macaulay.

"Those counsels," adds Napier, "wherein the prince's good is pretended, the private ends of these bad counsellors only intended, hath been the efficient causes of the ruin of kings, kingdoms and estates,—which Almighty God can only remead. And therefore, let all good subjects who love their prince and country pray with Solomon, LORD REMOVE THE WICKED[1] from the King, and his throne shall be established in righteousness."

Such were the reflections, on the prospects of King and country, noted in the privacy of his closet, and ere the great Rebellion had commenced, by one who may be said to have reared that "bloody murtherer and excommunicated traitor" Montrose, and whom we shall presently discover sharing and approving every step of his calumniated pupil's career, from his early and mistaken support of the Covenant, to his raising the royal banner in Scotland.

Clarendon says of Charles, that "he saw and observed men long before he received them about his person; and did not love strangers, nor very confident men." No wonder. The Scotch had taught him this habit. Though continually deceived and duped, from time to time he became cognizant of such malpractices among his Scotch courtiers as we have exempli-

[1] These words are written emphatically large in Lord Napier's manuscript.

fied above; consequently his general estimate of them could not be complimentary to his native country. The sight of an unknown adventurer, of rank and pretensions, from that quarter, was enough to make him close his countenance and his heart, without the additional impulse of the minion's jealousy. This was occasioned, indeed, by the "practising of a few;" but that sufficed to leaven the whole lump, and eventually to stamp upon the nation, as its characteristic, the vices of a limited and motley group. The very same dishonesty and frauds which entered the private and petty cabals of these vicious factions in Scotland, crossed, confused, and poisoned his Majesty's counsels in every conscientious endeavour for the public weal. When the general revocation of Tithes was first proposed, the King met with a violent resistance from the interested Barons, several of whom were disgusting him, at the very time, by their unscrupulous mode of working their private factions at Court. Mar, Roxburgh, Morton, and the Chancellor, Sir George Hay, were, from personal motives, among the leaders of that opposition, which, as Burnet informs us, had very nearly occasioned an extraordinary scene of assassination and massacre, when Nithsdale came to Scotland, commissioned by the monarch to make good the revocation. It was subsequent to this failure that the famous Commission of Surrenders, of superiorities and tithes, was issued, in the year 1627. Napier, in a letter to a friend, points out what he considers to be the bad effects resulting from the mismanagement of this affair, and the reasons why it proved so unsatisfactory to the clergy, the titulars, and the possessors. But he adds,—"The King, in my opinion, has more just cause of offence than any other of complaint, to find his gracious and just endeavours, of vindicating the greatest part of his people from the oppression of another part, to be thus frustrated and disappointed, and that, which his Majesty intended for the general good, to give general discontentment, through the ill-carriage of the business; whereby his Majesty is defrauded of the honour due to his virtuous and good designs; than which never prince intended more just, more gracious, nor more truly honourable."

Elsewhere he says,—"The business of tithes, amongst others, was most constantly prosecuted by his Majesty; a purpose of

his father's or his own, who, finding the heavy oppression of teind-masters, and the *servitude of the people*, did earnestly endeavour to remedy it: In this, as in other matters, which truly might be said to be his—which were his intentions only—was most just and princely; but the means, which were other men's inventions, were most unfit to compass his ends, but fit enough to serve their turns, who found it their private interest to render the business intricate, longsome, and difficult, upon hope his Majesty would relinquish the same: Neither was this form of proceeding displeasing to some most entrusted, for by the difficulty they did endear their services; and, in the meantime giving his Majesty hopes of great matters, they drew from him present and certain benefits, above the proportion of their merit, or of his Majesty's ability."

Heylin, who enlarges upon this subject in his life of Laud, says, that, "The proud Scots were generally resolved to put all to hazard than to quit that power and tyranny which they had over their poor vassals,—by which name, after the manner of the French, they called their tenants. And hereunto they were encouraged underhand by a party in England, who feared that by this agreement the King would be so absolute in those northern regions, that no aid could be hoped from thence when the necessity of their designs might most require it;—just as the Castilians were displeased with the conquest of Portugal by King Philip II., because thereby they had no place left to retire unto, when either the King's displeasure, or their disobedience should make their own country too hot for them. Such was the face of Church and State when his Majesty began his journey for Scotland to receive the Crown."

At length Charles effected that memorable progress in the month of June 1633. On the night before his coronation, he was feasted in the Castle of Edinburgh by the old Earl of Mar, whom he had beheld at his feet, crutches and all, "stirring pity to cause injustice." On the morrow, when seated in the great hall of the Castle, to receive the crown which some would fain have filched from him, it was Hay the crabbed Chancellor,—he whose "manner was to interrupt all men when he was disposed to speak, and the King too,"—that now, in the name of the

estates of the kingdom, "spake to the King." Among the six noblemen, whom his Majesty selected to support the bearers of his canopy, was Lord Napier. Rothes, the father of the future Covenant, carried the sceptre,—and Lorn, the deeper and more deadly promoter of the Rebellion, assisted to bear the train.

The factious insolency of his Scotch nobles which Charles had learnt to appreciate in England, he now met with, in more dangerous and personal collision, "at home." No sooner had he set his foot in Scotland than he created the chancellor Earl of Kinnoul, a favour which had little effect in mollifying the temper of that statesman. His Majesty, consistently with his mistaken policy of promoting "churchmen's greatness," had always desired that the Primate should have precedence of the Chancellor; "which," says Sir James Balfour, "the Lord Chancellor Hay, a gallant stout man, would never condescend to, nor ever suffer him to have place of him, do what he could, all the days of his lifetime." Once again Charles endeavoured to effect this. It was when arranging the pageantry of his coronation with Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon, in whose own graphic words we must give the anecdote. "I remember that King Charles sent me to the Lord Chancellor, being then Earl of Kinnoul, the day of his own coronation, in the morning, to shew him that it was his will and pleasure, but only for that day, that he would cede and give place to the Archbishop; but he returned by me to his Majesty a very brusk answer, which was, that since his Majesty had been pleased to continue him in that office of chancellor, which, by his means, his worthy father, of happy memory, had bestowed upon him, he was ready in all humility to lay it down at his Majesty's feet; but since it was his royal will he should enjoy it with the known privileges of the same, 'never a stoled priest in Scotland should set a foot before him, so long as his *blood was hot*.' When I had related his answer to the King, he said,—'Weel, Lyon let's go to business; I will not meddle further with that *old cankered, gouty man*, at whose hands there is nothing to be gained but sour words.'"[1] Thus, even the regal procession, which to the

[1] Balfour's Annals, MS. Advocates' Library. Published in 1824 by Messrs Haig, of the Library. The above anecdote of Chancellor Hay agrees precisely with Lord Napier's account of him. See before p 54.

eyes of all Scotland betokened gaiety and gladness, was to the devoted monarch replete with vexation and bitterness. From that hollow pageantry he passed to his Parliament of Scotland, with a spirit lofty, and long chafed, but as placable as it was royal.

By this time the Scotch factionists had some young blood among them, hot as the chancellor's, and even more vicious. These recruits were not strangers to Charles. About the close of the year 1626, three commissioners had been despatched by the tithe-holders in Scotland, to present a remonstrance against the act of revocation proposed by the King, who, having some intelligence of their plan, and not choosing to be insulted by the faction from whose oppressions he wished to relieve the people, sent a mandate to these emissaries to stop short of the Court. Their petition was received, however, and proved to be couched in such terms that "his Majesty stormed at their petition, as of too high a strain for subjects and petitioners; but shortly thereafter, on the *acknowledgment of their error*, they obtained pardon, and license to come to the court."[1] They were John Earl of Rothes, Alexander Earl of Linlithgow, and John Lord Loudon.[2] When these harbingers of "the Troubles" obtained an audience, the storm had passed from the brow of the generous King, who jocularly told them that they had been treated like so many young does, whom the old ones, finding themselves hotly pursued, and in hazard of being taken, cunningly expose to the hunter's fury, to save their own carcases. So he dismissed them to a conference with his secretary, Sir Alexander Stirling, and the nobleman who had interceded for them, namely, the Earl of Monteith.

These stricken does, however, did not retire to weep. When Charles took his seat in the Scotch Parliament of 1633, *Rothes* and *Loudon* proved to be leaders of the very dangerous herd he there brought to bay. The King had paused in his favourite and pious scheme, of arranging a uniformity of worship throughout his kingdoms; and now he endeavoured to conquer more

[1] Balfour.

[2] Of these, Rothes "brought in" Montrose to the Covenant in 1637, and Loudon, in most abusive terms, pronounced sentence of death upon him in 1650, for having opposed it.

gradually, and with as little violence as possible, the selfish obstinacy of the tith-holders, which, he had every reason to believe, was the only obstacle to his ameliorations of the Episcopal church of Scotland. But he had no idea of giving up to this faction Religion and the Church as already established. Unconscious of papistical intentions, and too enlightened himself not to perceive, in the rising murmurs against popery, either an irrational or a treacherous opposition, he determined to assert in his own name what had been peacefully established by his immediate predecessor. That the King could take his seat in this Parliament, (at a time, too, when prerogative and privilege were all undefined,) with calm and prudential feelings towards such an opposition, was not to be expected. To adopt his own account of the matter,—which, from its *truth*, became so hateful to the Covenanters.—"We (says the King,) undertook a journey to them, and, according to our expectation, were most joyfully received by them. But immediately before, and at the sitting down of our Parliament there, we quickly found that the very same persons who since were the contrivers of, and still continued the sticklers for, their new pretended Covenant, begun to have secret meetings, and in their private consultations, did vent their dislike of our innocent revocation, and our most beneficial commission of surrenders. But knowing that these two could gain them no party, then they begun to suggest great fears that many and dangerous innovations of religion were to be attempted in this present Parliament. Not that they themselves thought so, but because they knew that either that or nothing would soil with suspicious jealousy, or interrupt and relax the present joy and contentment, which did overflow in our subjects' hearts, and appeared in their hearty expressions, for our presence among them."[1]

The noblemen who led this factious opposition, and the manner in which they did so, were particularly calculated to throw the hasty King off his guard in this unhappy collision with the Parliament of Scotland. The leading spokesmen were Loudon and Rothes. It had been conceded to King James, by act of Parliament, that the ordering of the apparel of churchmen should appertain to him. Charles, consistently with his

[1] The King's Large Declaration; printed in 1639.

object of uniformity in church matters, was anxious not to lose sight of this act, and the Lords of the Articles had included it in the general act of his prerogative. The opposition seized upon this as the most favourable subject for popular agitation, it being easy, with the aid of a fanatical clergy, to excite the people into irrational violence against the surplice, and through that perverted medium to poison their minds with false ideas of the King's intentions. From Sanderson's contemporary history, we derive the following quaint and circumstantial description of the style of a debate that was in fact pregnant with the fate of England. "The first that opposed this act was the Lord Loudon, a bold young man of a broken estate, lately come from school (their college) and a Master of Arts. A deft Lord he was, who missing of the Court to civilize his studies, must needs want morality to bring him to manners, and being besides of a cavilling contradictory nature, nothing would seem to him so positive in reason as his own opinion; and therefore now, as heretofore at school, he argued with his distinctions—*duplici quæstioni non potest dari una responsio; ita est sic probo*,—and after his syllogisming in this kind he sits down with a challenge, —*responde, perge, urge, punge.* The King told him the orders of the house, not to *dispute* there, but to give his vote, *yea* or *nay*,—'which I do' said he, '*negativè*,' and so sat down in a snuff; yet the King had the major voices *affirmativè*. Loudon stands up and questioneth the register, scans the calculation with great contest before the King could carry it."[1]

Charles appears to have been annoyed and irritated, and even to have afforded a handle to faction by not repressing his indignant feelings. Only conscious of being there opposed by the tithe-cabal, and aware that they had held seditious meetings in secret before the assembling of Parliament, the King had come prepared to carry matters against these turbulent nobles, with a higher hand than prudence dictated, especially as it was not in his nature effectually to sustain an arbitrary system of government, upon any determined or steady views of his own. Rushworth declares, that, during this stormy and fantastical debate,

[1] "A Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles from his cradle to his grave, collected and written by William Sanderson, Esq."—Printed 1658.

in which there was manifested such a disposition to insult the King, " he took a list of the whole members out of his pocket, and said, Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I'll know who will do me service, and who will not this day."[1] According to Clarendon, the King had remarked that at this time Rothes and his party endeavoured " to make themselves popular by speaking in Parliament against those things which were most grateful to his Majesty, and which still passed notwithstanding their contradiction, and he thought a little discountenance upon those persons would either suppress that spirit within themselves, or make the poison of it less operative upon others." That great historian adds, that of the Earl of Rothes and others, the King had the worst opinion, and purposely withheld from them any grace by never speaking to them, or taking notice of them in the Court. Yet such was their effrontery, and determination to attain their ends, that " when the King was abroad in the fields, or passing through villages, when the greatest crowds of people flocked to see him, *those men would still be next him*, and entertain him with some discourse and pleasant relations, which the King's gentle disposition could not avoid, and which made those persons to be generally believed to be most acceptable to his Majesty,"—a characteristic demeanour of ambitious democracy, upon which Clarendon passes the shrewd reflection, that " let the proudest or most formal man resolve to keep what distance he will towards others, a bold and confident man instantly demolishes that whole machine, and gets within him, and even obliges him to his own laws of conversation."

Such was the faction with whom Charles came into collision in the Scotch Parliament of 1633, and to whose bitter disappointment the King's prerogative was saved, for the time, by his still commanding a majority of that Parliament against the

[1] Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 183. But this celebrated Collector was assistant-clerk of the Long Parliament, and it is now well known that his testimony against Charles I. must always be received *cum nota*. The antidote against Rushworth's partial collection is the " Impartial Collection" of Nalson, who says in his introduction,—" If I do not make it appear that Mr Rushworth hath concealed truth, endeavoured to vindicate the prevailing detractions of the late times, as well as their barbarous actions, and with a kind of rebound libelled the government at second hand, I will be contented the award shall go against me."

rising tide of disloyalty and disorder. But it was not merely to acquire a short-lived triumph over the factious and turbulent that Charles accomplished this memorable progress. His object was to secure the peace and happiness of his subjects, no less than to protect his Crown. Accordingly, in this Parliament, his tithe policy was finally adjusted upon its present basis, and at the same time he added another inestimable benefit to the Scotch people, in the statute for the endowment of parochial schools. "Thus,"—says an excellent historian of the Church in Scotland,—"thus did Charles I. confer upon Scotland two of the greatest boons that legislative wisdom could devise; securing to the ecclesiastical body a permanent though frugal endowment; and providing for the poor the facility of acquiring a cheap and pious education."[1]

To agitate Scotland against the King was now the great object of Rothes and his party. The elements of revolution were abundant. An aristocracy, some of whom were turbulent and disloyal by hereditary right, had been restrained in their power. A clergy, born of democracy and fanaticism, were threatened with the extinction of their *extempore* addresses, and the diminution of *their* power, under a learned hierarchy. Scotland was swarming with poor preachers, who, for the most part, uncouth, unlearned, and unenlightened, and with little hope of becoming bishops, yet felt their passions and their lungs strong enough to afford them a chance, when the waters were troubled, of emulating the popularity of Knox. Thus there was no want of materials for organizing and leading insurrection. But the question was, how to combine these somewhat discordant elements safely and effectually for the purposes of a clique.

Without following the Balmerino sedition through its mean and miserable progress to treason, it must here suffice to call to mind, that, in the year 1634, while the young Montrose was abroad, Lord Balmerino was tried, convicted, and condemned to die under the statutes of leasing-making against the Sovereign. Charles pardoned him, as James had pardoned his father. "And now," says the King, in his unanswerable Declaration of 1639, "this same pardoned Lord Balmerino, being one of the

[1] History of the Church in Scotland. By the Rev. Michael Russell, LL.D.

chief contrivers, and most malicious persecutors of this wicked Covenant, made against us and our authority, how he can be able to answer it to God, us and our crown, his own conscience, or to the world, even in the point of honour and reputation, it must be left to the world to judge."

With the state of matters in Scotland of which a necessarily hasty sketch has been afforded in this chapter, Montrose had no connection. He was never a party to petty faction; nor had he any thing whatever to do with the Tithe agitation, or the Balmerino treason. But Lord Napier, (the son of the man who had recently demonstrated to the satisfaction of protestant Europe, that the Pope was Antichrist, and who could not be wrong, as, at the same time, he had discovered the Logarithms,) was himself strongly imbued with feelings hostile at least to Episcopal rule in the State. "Churchmen's greatness" was the bugbear that continually haunted him, and there was much in that matter to justify his alarm. He had no sympathy with factious agitation of any kind. He entertained the highest opinion of the good intentions and moral character of the King. But to use the very words which Montrose himself uttered in his dying hour, "*Bishops* he cared not for them, and never sought to procure *their* advancement." It was from this "guide, philosopher, and friend," that our hero imbibed a taint of presbyterian bigotry in his boyhood, and retained it to the end.

CHAPTER IX.

HOW MONTROSE WAS BROUGHT INTO THE FACTION IN SCOTLAND AGAINST THE COURT—RIOTS AGAINST THE LITURGY—CHARACTER OF THE OPPOSITION—CONDUCT OF THE LORD ADVOCATE—MONTROSE'S FIRST APPEARANCE AMONG THE FACTIONISTS—INSTITUTION OF COMMITTEE GOVERNMENT IN SCOTLAND—THE COVENANT—ITS ARTFUL CONTRIVANCE, DISINGENUOUS TERMS, AND TYRANNICAL IMPOSITION—HUNTLY.

MONTROSE was but twenty-four years of age, when he returned from his travels in 1636. That the ardent dispositions of the youth, whom we have traced throughout his boyhood and college life, were scarcely yet under the control of a mature judgment, may be assumed. But however his reception at Court was likely to operate upon a disposition such as his, there is the best authority for rejecting D'Israeli's figures of speech, that "the slighted and romantic hero threw himself, in anger and despair, into the hands of the Covenanters." The Covenanters themselves tell us a totally different story.

That busy and fantastical covenanter, Baillie, whose learning was lumber, and whose mind, during the progress of the Troubles, was an over-heated mass of contradictions, pronounces upon the conduct and motives of Montrose, as he does upon that of others, without distinctly perceiving the effect of his oracular *dicta* against "the cause." He assures us, that, "when the canniness of Rothes had brought in Montrose to our party, his more than ordinary and evil pride made him very hard to be guided." This is a pregnant text. Baillie's facts are more damaging to his friends, than his opinions are to his foes. We thus learn that our hero was *brought in* to the party; and that this required the *canniness* of Rothes. There is no mistaking the meaning. It required great pains, and dexterous management, on the part of the most influential and cunning of the original agitators, to induce Montrose, young as he was, to join

the faction, or to persuade that tassel-gentle to ruffle his feathers at royalty. Yet the Genius of Scotland, "Jenny Geddes," had delivered her judgment, *ὲ cathedra*, against Episcopacy, months before this mercurial young Earl could even be "brought in." And no sooner had he struck his flag to the arch-agitator Rothes, than the faction discovered, to their disappointment and dismay, that the prize was "very hard to be guided." The real truth is, as we shall immediately show, he proved at the very outset, and during the most factious and unreasonable position in which he ever stood, too honest for their counsels, and too humane for their arms.

If the tree of British liberty arose out of the Scottish Covenant its roots are in a dunghill.[1] No cleanly mind can dive into that history, in search of truth, without the desire to perform ablutions afterwards. The *cabal* against the promulgation of the liturgy, and the order of Bishops in Scotland, must ever remain a foul spot in the annals of Scotland. Let political historians pet the tree of liberty as they please, meanness and dishonesty, violence and injustice, can never fail to disgrace the age, and the actors.

The scheme, of uniformity in the protestant worship of the kingdom, was, in itself, rational and praiseworthy, not originating with, but inherited by Charles. The attempt, however, was ill timed, and worse conducted; and resistance to it in Scotland might even have claimed some admiration, as well as sympathy, had that resistance been the natural aud unanimous expression of rational feeling, or had it possessed one feature which deserves

[1] Mr Macaulay says it did. Speaking of the imposition of the Liturgy in Scotland, he observes: "To this step, taken in the mere wantonness of tyranny, and in criminal ignorance, or more criminal contempt, of public feeling, our country owes her freedom. The first performance of the foreign ceremonies produced a riot. The riot rapidly became a revolution." Hist. vol. 1. p. 94. Not so fast. There was a rebellion and a restoration between the riot and the revolution. The rapidity here, on the part of the historian, is very convenient. In his epitome of this salutary breeze, our historian adds,—"For the *senseless freak* which had produced these effects Wentworth is not responsible." Whether this phrase be applicable to any view of the conduct of Charles, in ordering the Liturgy for Scotland, they who read history for other reasons than the enjoyment of a pointed style, will determine. The *see-saw* between "*criminal* ignorance," or "*more criminal* contempt," of course leaves the poor King no escape.

to be regarded with other sentiments than disgust. Baillie, writing to his correspondent Spang, minister of the Scots congregation in Holland, immediately after the royal proclamation of the service-book in 1637, blunders out one of those confessions which, from a clerical covenanting historian, cuts so deep. He says, that both sides of the "pitiful schism," by which he supposes his church is about to be divided, are to blame: "The one, puts idolatry, popery, superstition, in sundry things which are *innocent* of these faults; they speak of the persons and actions of men *otherwise than becomes;* the other seems wilfully to add fuel to their flame, to command upon sole authority, without ever craving the advice of any, so far as we can hear, if such things be expedient, yea if they be lawful;" a view of the whole matter which happens precisely to coincide with Clarendon's statement of the seditious fanaticism of the Covenanters, and the overbearing episcopal policy of Laud. It is remarkable, considering the previous history of the Church in Scotland, how much laborious and dishonest agitation it cost the Rothes clique, and the clergy, their willing instruments, to rouse the tumultuous portion of the community, even with all the advantage obtained from much mismanagement by the hierarchy. That the liturgy "was nought but the mass in English, brought in by the craft and violence of the Bishops, against the mind of all the rest, both of church and statesmen—these things (says Baillie) *sounded from pulpits*, were carried from hand to hand *in papers*, were the table talk and open discourse of high and low." After all this preparatory agitation, when the royal order for reading the new service, on Sunday 23d July 1637, was attempted to be fulfilled, in St Giles' church, by the Bishop and Dean of Edinburgh, and in the Greyfriars by the Bishop of Argyle, "incontinent the *serving-maids* began such a tumult as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation." This worthy was not present, but came to Edinburgh the day after "that foul day," as he terms it, the miserable details of which have been frequently recorded to the disgrace of Scotland and the Kirk. Upon a subsequent occasion he thus exulting records the meanest feature in what has been called the second Reformation:—"This day twelvemonths the *serving-maids* in Edinburgh began to draw down the Bishops' pride, when it was at

the highest." The privy council, however, in their letter to the King, characterised the resistance as "that barbarous tumult, occasioned solely, for any thing we can learn as yet, by a number of base and rascally people."

Sir Thomas Hope, one of the privy council who signs this very report, could have told a different story. It was a successful gunpowder plot, and that old Guy, the Lord Advocate, was at the bottom of it. "This tumult," says Guthrie, "was taken to be but a rash emergent, without any pre-deliberation; whereas, *the truth is*, it was the result of a consultation at Edinburgh in April, at which time Mr Alexander Henderson came thither from his brethren in Fife, and Mr David Dickson from those in the west country, and those two having communicated with *my Lord Balmerino*, and *Sir Thomas Hope*, the minds of them they came from, and gotten their approbation thereto, did afterwards meet at the house of Nicholas Balfour, in the Cowgate, with Eupham Henderson, Bethia, and Elspa Craig, and several other matrons, and recommended to them that they and their adherents should give the first affront to the book, assuring them that *men* should afterwards take the business out of their hands."

Some have affected to treat this very circumstantial story as a gratuitous invention by Bishop Guthrie. He was not a bishop then, however, but among the ranks of the covenanting ministers, and with ample means of acquiring such insight into their secret machinery. Moreover, he is corroborated at every turn. Who was *Elspa Craig?* She was the mother of Archibald Johnston, an Advocate violently agitating for place and power to himself, and who eventually attained the elevation of one of Cromwell's peers, until the Restoration elevated him a grade higher. Among Sir James Balfour's manuscripts, preserved in the Advocates' Library, there is an epitaph which indicates that Archibald Johnston's mother was more esteemed, even by the Covenanters, than himself:—

> "Deil swell thee, Death,
> And burst thee like a tun,
> That took away good Elspet Craig,
> And left the knave her son."

Baillie distinguishes him as "the only Advocate who in this

business is trusted." Guthrie is not only corroborated by Baillie and many others, as to the systematic outrages committed upon various occasions, and in different places, by the "serving-maids" of certain "godly matrons," but the fact, that the most violent ebullitions of popular fury were arranged before-hand by the leaders of the faction, who yet pretended to disclaim the riots, is sufficiently proved by the following letter, addressed to that same Archibald Johnston :—

"Dear *Christian* brother, and *courageous* Protestant," says that worthy's anonymous correspondent, "upon some rumour of the Prelate of St Andrews coming over the water, finding it altogether *inconvenient* that he or *any of that kind* should show themselves *peaceably* in public, some course was taken how he might be *entertained* in such places as he should come unto. We are now informed that he will not come, but that Brechin is in Edinburgh or thereabout. It is the *advice of your friends there*, that, in a *private way*, some course *may be taken for his terror and disgrace*, if he offer to *show himself* publicly. Think upon the *best way*, by the advice of your friends there. I fear that their public appearance at Glasgow shall be prejudicial to *our cause*. We are going on *to take order* with his chief supporters here, Glaidstanes, Scrymgeour, and Haliburton. So, wishing you both protection and direction from your Master, I continue your own, *whom you know*, G. 26th October 1638."[1]

The most able of the apologists for the Church of Scotland, attributes the riots against the service book to a conscientious persuasion "that they were engaged in the cause of religion, and were contributing to purify those temples which apparently they profaned." A pretty and well rounded paragraph. Yet the same historian cannot restrain himself from characterising the ebullition as "atrocities from which men not destitute of religious impressions would naturally have shrunk."[2] Conscientious atrocities are difficult to understand. Under the light of a single such document, as the secret missive quoted above, the worse than vanity of all these apologies, from constitutional history-making pens, becomes glaringly apparent. The

[1] Original MS. Letter, addressed to Johnston of Warriston.—*Advocates' Library.*

[2] Dr Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 378.

" grand national movement," as another historian calls it, shrinks back into its vicious slime and sordid dimensions. Providence produces good out of evil; but vice is not therefore the parent of virtue. This convulsion, infinitely degrading in its details, arose out of the plots of an interested faction, and not from the spontaneous impulse of national character or feelings. Baillie, never fully in the confidence of the Rothes clique, was himself, in many respects, deluded and deceived. His bewildered contradictions, and simple confessions, sufficiently indicate the fact. But it was none of his objects or desire to expose the cabal. Observe his account of the simultaneous riots in Glasgow.

Mr William Annan was appointed by the Archbishop to preach there, on Thursday, 28th August 1637. He took for his text, " I exhort that prayers be made for all men." The manner in which he performed his duty is thus described by Baillie :—" In the last half of his sermon, from the making of prayers he ran out upon the liturgy, and spake for the defence of it in whole, and sundry most plausible parts of it, as well, in my poor judgment, as any in the isle of Britain could have done, considering all circumstances. However, he maintained, to the dislike of all, in an unfit time, that which was hanging in suspense between the King and the country. Of his sermon, among us in the synod, *not a word;* but in the town, *among the women*, a great din." Then he blurts out this innocent remark :—" I think, that town's commotion proceeds *most* from *Mr John Bell's vehement dislike of that book*." And the details he affords, of this monstrous regimen of women, enlighten us still further, and leave nothing to be said against the record of Guthrie.

" At the outgoing of the church, about thirty or forty of our *honestest* women, in one voice, before the Bishop and Magistrates, did fall a railing, cursing, scolding, with clamours, on Mr William Annan : Some two of the meanest were taken to the Tolbooth : All the day over, up and down the streets where he went, he got threats of sundry in words and looks; but after supper, while needlessly he would go to visit the Bishop, who had taken his leave with him, he is not sooner on the causeway, at nine o'clock in a mirk night, with three or four ministers with him, but some hundreds of enraged women, of all qualities,

are about him, with neaves (fists) and staves, and peats, but no stones: They beat him sore; his cloak, ruff, hat, were rent: However, upon his cries, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger even of killing: This tumult was so great, that it was not *thought meet* to search either *the plotters or actors* of it; for numbers of *the best quality* would have been *found guilty*."[1]

Well might the King, when all this was reported to him, conscientiously believe that he was only opposed by a disreputable faction, which to identify with Scotland would be a libel on his country. Well might he reject and disclaim, as the spontaneous voice of the nation, a petition against the Service-book, which ran in the name of "Us men, women, *children*, and *servants*, indwellers within the burgh of Edinburgh." Baillie's "honestest women" must have been the vilest of their sex. Immediately after the tumults there was published, with the most exulting commendations, and for the purpose of still further inflaming the public mind in its lowest grades, some of the sayings and doings of these notable Trullas of the Covenant. The language hurled at the Bishop and the Dean, by the "serving-maids" of the "godly matrons" of Edinburgh, belongs to the stews; and their threats were of the most fiendish character:—"Fie, if I could get the thrapple out of him,"—roared one of the "honestest women;" and when it was suggested to her, that if she obtained her desire, there might come one in his room worse still, she made answer, from her studies of constitutional history,—"After Cardinal Beaton was *sticked*, we had never another cardinal sensyne; and if that false Judas (the Bishop) were now stabbed and cut off, his place would be thought so prodigious and ominous, that scarce any man durst hazard to undertake to be his successor."[2]

[1] Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. i. p. 21. See the whole of this letter, which is most instructive as to the "grand national movement."

[2] "A brief and true relation of the broyle which fell out on the Lord's Day, the 23d July 1637, through the occasion of a black, popish, and superstitious service-book," &c. Mr Brodie, in his History of the British Empire, erroneously attributes the compilation of this discreditable brochure to the Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour. A copy had been discovered among his MSS. in the Advocates' Library. It is printed in the Appendix to Rothes's Relation.

Butlers's picture is attractive and comely, compared with the disgusting reality in Scotland—

> " The oyster-women locked their fish up,
> And trudged away, to cry, ' No Bishop.'
> Instead of Kitchen stuff, some cry,
> A gospel-preaching ministry!
> And some, for old suits, coats, or cloak,
> No surplices, nor service-book."

[1] The most popular and amusing version of the commencement of the tumults, is, unfortunately, the least authentic. Sir Walter Scott says :—" As the reader of the prayers commenced the *collect* for the day, an old woman named Jenny Geddes, who kept a green-stall in the High Street, bawled out—' The deil *colick* in the wame of thee, thou false thief! dost thou say the mass at my lug?' With that she flung at the Dean's head the stool upon which she had been sitting, and a wild tumult instantly commenced."—*Hist.* vol. i. p. 414. It is not explained how the Dean could have been reading at the old woman's ear. The real story is this, for which we have abundant contemporary authority. The premeditated tumult having commenced the instant the book was opened, with " clapping of hands, cursings, and outcries," raised by " a number of the meaner sort of the people, most of them *waiting-maids and women*, who use in that town to *keep places* for the better sort," —then it happened that " there was a gentleman, who, standing *behind a pew*, and answering *amen* to what the Dean was reading, a she zealot hearing him, starts up in choler,—' Traitor (says she), dost thou say mass at my ear?' and with that struck him on the face with her Bible in great indignation and fury." This is the contemporary account by James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay, in his History of the Scots affairs. The same story is told in terms very similar, but in a more exulting spirit, by the author of the scurrilous pamphlet already quoted, and which Mr Brodie has erroneously attributed to Sir James Balfour. This was not the virago who flung the first stool. We have no desire to deprive Jenny Geddes of her honours, or her place in history. Sir Walter Scott had merely adopted De Foe's version (the most amusing), in his Memorials of the Kirk, which undoubtedly is not the true one. These female servants, who had to keep places, before great field days, for their " godly matrons," sometimes for more than twenty-four hours (which occasioned the most disgusting abuses of the house of God), were provided with portable folding stools, which, upon the great occasion in question, they turned into missiles. That these were so used is also well authenticated. The King, in the Large Declaration (compiled for him by Dr Balcanquhal), states, that " if a stool, aimed to be thrown at him, had not, by the providence of God, been diverted by the hand of one present, the life of that reverend Bishop, in that holy place, and in the pulpit, had been endangered, if not lost." Spalding's contemporary account states it in terms that coincide with Guthrie's anecdote :—" The nobles, being foreseen of this novelty, never heard before since the Reformation in Edinburgh, devise a number of *rascal serving-women* to throw stools at the reader, and perturb the Kirk, which they did vehemently." Kirkton has it, that, " first an unknown obscure woman threw her stool at the Dean's head, a number of others did the like by her example." Jenny Geddes was

It has never been hinted that Montrose had any hand in this mean and atrocious organizing of insurrection. He had no *secret* sympathies with the party whom he joined. He was not of the Rothes school of politics, although it was Rothes who seduced him. It is nowhere pretended that his disaffection had any thing to do with previous factions. Neither does Baillie name Montrose until after the period when, we shall find, he was first "brought in." It was at a great convention, held on the 15th November 1637, that Montrose made his first appearance as an opponent of the Court. The history of that convention affords another corroboration of what Guthrie has revealed. The Bishop of Edinburgh, and the Magistrates, had declared, that the cause of all the tumults was the frequent congregation in Edinburgh of the disaffected nobles and gentlemen. "In that case," it was artfully replied, "we shall call a convention to choose *commissioners*, to wait in small numbers upon the Privy-council, in terms of the motion of the Provost and the Bishop." "This," says Baillie, "was *the pretence;* but the *truth* was, that night after supper, in *Balmerino's* lodgings, where the whole nobility (*i. e.* of the faction) supped, some commissioners from the gentry, town, and ministers met, where I was among the rest; there it was resolved to meet against the 15th of November, in as great numbers as *possibly could be had*, to wait on the answer of their prior supplication, and to get their complaint once tabled and received." At this covenanting conviviality, the learned but somewhat incoherent and bewildered Baillie, sat in wondrous admiration of those long-headed arch-insurgents, Balmerino and Loudon. He "thought them the best spokesmen that ever he heard open a mouth." He says it was "a meeting of harmony, and mutual love, zeal, and gravity beyond what had occurred even in a meeting composed solely of churchmen for forty years." When taking leave of the nobles, however, one of the ministers lectured their Lord-

one of an hundred. Mr Sharpe's note upon Kirkton's reference to the incident, is as follows:—"This pious woman's surname was Geddes; her Christian name was either Margaret, the common appellation, or Janet, as she is termed in a rude ballad, beginning 'Put the gown upon the Bishop.' It is said that she had done penance on the stool of repentance for fornication, the Sabbath previous to this exploit. From the continuation of Baker's Chronicle, we learn that she survived the Restoration."

ships upon the "reformation of their persons, and using the exercise of piety in their families; which all took well, and *promised fair*." The ministers returned to their respective districts of agitation, to raise, from their perverted pulpits, the seditious cries that were to bring the people to the meeting of the 15th of November. "The fame of that 15th day spread at once far and broad, even to the King's ear, and all were in great suspense what it might produce."

It produced Montrose. During the busy interval, "the canniness of Rothes" was brought to bear upon the future champion of the monarchy. Nor was this all. At a previous convention, held on the 20th September 1637, attended by Rothes, Cassilis, Eglinton, Home, Lothian, Wemyss, Lindsay, Yester, Balmerino, Cranston, and Loudon, accompanied by ministers and burgesses from Fife, and the western shires, those ministers were enjoined, nothing loth, to agitate, agitate, agitate! The "grand national movement" required such impetus as this: "It was laid upon Mr Henry Pollock to *deal with* those of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale; Mr Andrew Ramsay to take the *like pains* with those of Angus and Mearns; Mr Robert Murray, to *travail* with them of Perth and Stirling shires; and an advertisement was ordered to be sent to Mr Andrew Cant, to *use the like diligence* in the north; and so the ministers disbanded for the time." Now, in an original manuscript deposition, taken during the prosecution of Montrose and his loyal friends in 1641, to be in due time narrated, we find what had hitherto escaped observation, that Montrose himself names a minister as having laboured to convert him. "Thereafter my Lord (Montrose) says to the deponer, '*you were an instrument of bringing me to this cause;* I am calumniated and slandered as a backslider in this cause, and am desirous to give you and all honest men satisfaction:'" This deponer is Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven,—the very clergyman upon whom, preparatory to the grand agitation for this meeting of the 15th of November, "it was laid, to *travail* with them of Perth and Stirlingshire,"—the districts in which lay the estates of Montrose, and his relatives Lord Napier and Sir George Stirling of Keir. And Mr Robert Murray was the uncle of that rogue in grain, "little Will Murray of the Bedchamber," who is accused, upon

very substantial grounds, of picking the King's pockets of his letters, and who unquestionably was the tool of Hamilton in all his cabals with the Covenanters.

The result of the "canniness" of Rothes, and the "travail" of Mr Robert Murray, is thus recorded by Guthrie:—"Among other nobles, who had not been formerly there, came at that diet the Earl of Montrose, which was *most taken notice of:* yea, when the Bishops heard that he was come there to join, they were somewhat affrighted, having that esteem of his parts, that they thought it time to prepare for a storm when he engaged."

At this grand convention, the Treasurer, Traquair, as one of the privy council, "challenged their proceedings," says Baillie, "with great admiration to some of his wisdom and faculty of speech." But, he adds, "the Advocate, after some little displeasure at the Treasurer for his motion, *resolved*, that they might meet, in law, to choose commissioners to Parliament, to convention of estates, or *any public business*." It was then determined to appoint a committee of twelve, representing as many several estates as in their wisdom this convention saw fit that the new constitution should embrace. The immediate reward of Montrose's adherence was his being named one of four noblemen selected to compose "the Table" of the nobility. His three coadjutors were Rothes, Loudon, and his quondam hunting companion at college, Lord Lindsay of the Byres. And one of those chosen to represent the lesser barons, was his nephew, by marriage with Lord Napier's eldest daughter, Sir George Stirling of Keir. Thus originated that scourge of the kingdom, factiously composed committees, usurping the whole functions of government in Scotland. So artfully was the matter managed, as to seem a conservative act of the privy-council, fortified by the legal opinion of the first law officer of the crown. In reality, as we learn from Baillie himself, it was a deliberate plan of the faction, to constitute a new and irresponsible government and tribunal of their own, at which their contemplated destruction of the Bishops might be effected as the first step in a progress of anarchy, of whose ultimate aim and object, in regard to the state of the nation, not one of the agitators had a definite or rational idea.

Such was the party to which "the canniness of Rothes brought

in" Montrose. Yet the day was not far distant when he was to learn to appreciate a covenanting committee of estates! When his horror of such tribunals was even to mingle with the gentlest moods of his mind:—

"And in the empire of thine heart,
Where I should solely be,
If others do pretend a part,
Or dare to vie with me,
Or if *committees* thou erect,
And go on such a score,
I'll laugh and sing at thy neglect,
And never love thee more."

The constitution of Scotland being thus overturned, the destructive party instantly proceeded to the contrivance of their memorable charter. The covenant, that bond of faction and banner of rebellion, is inseparable from the name of Montrose, not only because eventually he fell a sacrifice in the vain attempt to save his King and country from its desolating effects, but because he was amongst the foremost to sign it, and, for a brief space, supported it in council and enforced it in the field. Were this bond what some have imagined it to be, a patriotic and holy expression of unanimous feeling in all who signed it,—a feeling for the preservation of their Religion and Liberties,—had Charles I. really entertained the determined purpose against the "Independency" of Scotland, which the Covenant is by some supposed to have met, then, however illegal in itself, and though leading to worse evils than it professed to cure, all who signed it in that good faith and feeling might well be excused. If Montrose, who we shall find only abjured the Covenant after he distinctly saw that it was made to serve the ruinous purposes of a revolutionary movement, had really signed it under circumstances which necessarily required every Christian patriot so to do, his political character would be blameless. It is to be feared, however, that the martyr of loyalty stands not so well excused in his early career. He appears to have taken that step, as many others did, with but crude and confused ideas of its propriety. The best clerical historians of the Church of Scotland now admit, or but feebly veil the fact, that the Covenant, as dishonestly and impiously it was styled, came reeking

from the hotbed of faction, and from the hands of reckless unprincipled politicians. But Montrose was naturally as incapable of conceiving so artful a plot, as he was of foreseeing the scope and tendency of the Covenant at the time when he signed it. He was not one of the intriguers who contrived that too successful scheme against established order. Rothes, Loudon, and Balmerino, with their legal demagogue, Archibald Johnston of Warriston, and their clerical apostle Alexander Henderson—these five are immortalized as its able, though disingenuous devisers.

The scheme of the Covenant is well known. It affected to adopt that Confession of Faith—directed against Popery at a time when the popish plots of Spain, and a less enlightened era, rendered the ferment more excusable and sincere—which King James in his youth had signed along with the nation. There was originally added to this protestant confession a bond or obligation for maintenance of the true religion, and of the King's person. Some years afterwards, James superinduced, upon his constitution of the church, the five articles of Perth, and thus, with the acquiescence of his people, established that Episcopal imparity of church government which was virtually the scheme of Knox himself. The adoption of the acts of the previous reign, as the charter of the insurrection of 1637, was a trick for the purpose of transferring to the faction a colour of whatever was respectable and constitutional in those enactments. "It was," says the learned historian of the Kirk, an "expedient admirably devised, the success of which exceeded even their own most sanguine expectation." The first aim of those power and place hunters, who had progressed from the tithe cabal to the Balmerino petition, and from that to the Tables, and the Covenant, was to root out the order of bishops from church and state. While they pretended, therefore, only to renew, as a solemn form of expressing a religious, patriotic, and loyal feeling, what was already the law, they, in point of fact, contemplated the violent abrogation of every vestige of Episcopacy in the island, however constitutionally established. In the prosecution of this scheme, they at once rendered the bond for defence of the King's person and authority, which they professed to adopt, a dead letter, by adding an obligation to defend each other even

against the King himself. "This remarkable addition," says, our historian "gave a new complexion to what was held forth merely as the revival of a former confession; this bond places beyond a doubt the determination of those by whom it was framed, to defy even the King himself in attaining the objects which it was designed to secure. Yet Hope, his Majesty's Advocate, did not hesitate to give it as his opinion, that it contained nothing inconsistent with the duty of subjects,—a fact strikingly evincing how much the *spirit of faction* can bewilder even the most vigorous minds. The obligation was written and sanctioned, not by Parliament, not by men acting in any official capacity, but by individuals assuming the right of deciding upon the measures of their sovereign, and considering their private judgment as a sufficient warrant for despising his authority."

This is severe upon the "good cause," coming as it does from the pen of one of its most distinguished advocates. And surely the apology, which immediately follows the condemnation, only tends to show how indefensible that cause in reality is. Dr Cook proceeds to say:—"It does not alter the case that the cause *was really good*; it *might have been* quite the reverse; and therefore the vindication of the Covenant must not be rested upon the far-fetched attempts to *reconcile it with loyalty*, but upon this *great principle*, that, when the ends for which all government should be instituted are defeated, the *oppressed* have a clear right to disregard *customary forms*, and to assert the privileges without which they would be condemned to the degradation and wretchness of despotism."[1]

But unfortunately, this "great principle,"—this hospital to which the reverend author refers the foundation of his church after having rendered it raw from his scourge,—is inadequate to the cure. The assumptions involved in the vague, though magniloquent defence, are quite incapable of proof. Neither does that defence coincide with the circumstantial animadversion which it was intended to neutralize. To "reconcile the Covenant with loyalty" is not the sole difficulty which Dr Cook's previous censure had presented to the "far-fetched attempts" of its champions. He had accused the Covenant, though in

[1] Dr Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 414-415.

subdued and tender phrase, of motives and principles that cannot fail to render it very disgraceful to its contrivers. He had said that the *most vigorous minds* among them were *bewildered by the spirit of faction;* that their scheme was *inconsistent with the duty of subjects;* that they had *assumed the right* of deciding; and had placed their *private judgment* against constituted authority! How does all this quadrate with the author's *great principle of vindication*, namely, that before the Covenant arose, the ends for which all government should be instituted had been defeated, and the only "duty of subjects" remaining was, that of the *oppressed* (not the *factious*) having a *clear right* to disregard the principles of the constitution, and to assert *their privileges?* Can we reconcile or apply this vindication to the case of the Covenant, which, on the very next page of the same history, Dr Cook thus characterizes,—"The Covenant was, notwithstanding the essential alteration in it which has been noticed, still denominated by its former title, a *piece of disingenuity* which was not necessary to support the cause, and which afforded its enemies *some ground* for questioning the *integrity* of the *zealous men* by whom it was espoused."

So difficult is it to defend the Covenant! Whoever engages in the task, must do it with a will. He must ignore facts, avoid common sense, invoke the genius of Jenny Geddes, and flourish her stool. No writer has done so more imposingly, and, we verily believe, with more conscientious mental inebriety, than the learned author of a History of the British Empire. The Covenant, he tells us, was "A grand national movement against arbitrary power, civil and religious." It was, he says, "not *merely* a cool assent of the understanding, but of the heart, heated to an enthusiasm of which a faint conception only can be formed by those who have lived in quiet times; the Covenant was embraced with tears of penitence for *past defection;* and *shouts* of *unutterable* joy for the hoped-for fruits," —not of busy faction and seditious agitation,—but of "reconcilement with Heaven."

Yet neither will this historian suffer the Covenant to escape without "severe reprehension." And why? Not because it roused rebellion, while professing loyalty, and effected a secret combination against the person and authority of the King, while

it took God to witness a determination to defend both,—but because of its "intolerance towards the Catholic body."—"Men," adds the historiographer royal for Scotland, "who were themselves smarting under the effects of intolerance, might have had *sympathy* with the feelings of those who also adhered to their *own notions* of worshipping their Maker." Meaning thereby, not the *protestant* Church of England, which the Covenanters so intolerantly and inconsistently assailed, but actually the worshippers of the Pope![1]

The months of February, March, and April 1638, were occupied chiefly in obtaining signatures to multiplied copies of the Covenant, written on sheepskin, and carried about in their portmanteaus by the agitating nobles. Some wags, well knowing the *humbug* of the whole affair, called it "The constellation on the back of Aries." The parson of Rothiemay, who records the wit, further tells us, that "the greater the number of the subscribers grew, the more imperious they were in exacting subscriptions from others who refused to subscribe; so that by degrees they proceeded to contumelies, and exposing of many to injuries and reproaches; and some were beaten who durst refuse, especially in greatest cities (as likewise in other smaller towns), namely, at Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow, Lanark, and many other places." This account is amply confirmed by private correspondence of the period, which will not be found, either in the text or notes of our great constitutional historians, Brodie, Hallam, and Macaulay. The following extract is from an original letter preserved in the Advocates' Library, from Mr David Mitchell, one of the persecuted ministers of Edinburgh (afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen), to Dr John Lesly, Bishop of Raphoe:—

"The greater part of the kingdom have subscribed, and the rest are daily subscribing a *Covenant*. It is the oath of the King's house, 1580, with *strange additions;* a mutual combination for resistance of all novations in religion, doctrine, and discipline, and rites of worship that have been brought in since that time; so as, if the least of the subscribers be touched,—

[1] Mr Brodie's History of the British Empire, vol. ii. p. 471, 472.

and there be some of them *not ten years of age, and some not worth twopence*,[1]—that all shall concur for their defence, and for the expulsion of all Papists and adversaries, that is, *all that will not subscribe*, out of the church and kingdom, according to the laws, whereof an hundred are cited in the charter. This goes on apace. The *true pastors* are brought into Edinburgh to cry out against *us wolves*, and they, with our brethren here, Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr Henry Pollock, and your whileome friend the Principal (Adamson), crying out that they are neither good Christians nor good subjects that do not subscribe, nay, nor in covenant with God, have made us so odious *that we dare not go on the streets*. I have been dogged by some gentlemen, and followed with many mumbled threatenings behind my back, and then, when in stairs, *swords drawn*, and '*if they had the Papist villain, oh!*' Yet I thank God I am living to serve God and the King, and the Church, and your Lordship. Your chief (Rothes) is chief in this business. There is nothing expected here but civil war."

There are also preserved among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library, some very curious and amusing letters written in 1638, during the covenanting tumults, by one signing himself "Jean de Maria," seemingly a feigned name; nor has the name of the party addressed been ascertained. They are very long and circumstantial, and evince in the writer great penetration, spirit, and humour. Nothing can be more complete, in an epistolary form, than "Jean de Maria's" *exposé* of the arts of insurgency that begot the Covenant. He says that the King's backwardness to take strong measures against the covenanting combination, "makes many doubtful whether he be disposed to break the same, and resent the wrong which is done him thereby, in a true degree or not; *which is the cause* that a thousand and a thousand are come in within this month, and subscribed the same, who otherwise had undoubtedly stood out:" And, "if you knew what odd, uncouth and ridiculous courses they use to draw in ignorant fools, fearful fasards,

[1] To evince the *universal* feeling against the liturgy, the petition of the faction, to the Chancellor, after the tumults, ran thus,—"Unto your Lordship humbly shews, we men, women, and *children*, and servants, indwellers in Edinburgh, being urged with this book of service," &c.

women and boys, I can hardly say whether it would afford his Majesty more occasion of laughter or anger." Among other instructive illustrations contained in these letters, is the following graphic anecdote:—"You may judge whether we who have *not* subscribed the Covenant, are in [a good] taking, when *an insolent clavering puppy*,[1] whose wife is a sister of our Sheriff's, whose deportment for many respects I regret most of any man's in this county, and who qualifies himself as his joint commissioner for this shire, dared be so pert as to come down to our church, and there, seeing how few were like to concur with them, say, that he *desired but the names* of those who should refuse to subscribe, with a note of their worths in means or otherwise, and *let them alone to take order with them*."

It is Doctor Johnson who so graphically exposes the fallacy of that demonstration of national or public opinion, which consists in the subscriptions of the million to the wishes of the few. "Names," he says, "are easily collected. One man signs because he hates the Papists; another because it will vex the parson; one because he is rich; another because he is poor; one to shew that he is not afraid; and another to shew that he can write." Such, on a more extended scale, and with more potent impulses, was the fabrication of the Covenant. The grand national movement, the penitent embraces, the tears, the shouts of joy *unutterable*, the promised hopes, all that our historiographer-royal has so imposingly crowded into his *beau ideal* of that revolutionary charter, was but the seditious agitation, the false excitement, the senseless clamour, and the lawless violence of its day. "The passage, however," continues the great moralist, "is not always smooth. Those who collect contributions to sedition sometimes apply to a man of higher rank, and more enlightened mind, who, instead of lending them his name, calmly reproves them for being seducers of the people." Would that, in pursuing the parallel, we might claim this lofty position for Montrose. Although not behind the scenes of the agitation, or as Baillie himself expresses it, in reference even to his own exclusion,—"within the curtain of the secret wheels, where the like of me wins not,"—his ardent disposition was fired,

[1] *Quere.*

and carried by the arts of insurgency, the excitement of the occasion, seasoned with some ill-digested ideas of his own as to the best mode of opposition to "churchmen's greatness." There is one nobleman, however, in whom the parallel is sustained. He who, "instead of lending them his name, calmly reproved them for being seducers of the people," was George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly. The collision into which Montrose was now brought with that ever loyal nobleman, was the main cause of the failure of the campaign for the monarchy in Scotland, and of our hero's isolation in that desperate career of fruitless victories. Colonel Robert Monro, a Gustavus Adolphus man, was specially commissioned by "the Tables," to carry the Covenant to Huntly, and to obtain his signature. This free-spoken soldier, who had been a companion in arms with the Marquis abroad, applied the usual lever of mingled promises and threats. He was dismissed with this memorable reply,—"My House," said Huntly, "has risen by the Kings of Scotland. It has ever stood for them, and with them shall fall. Nor will I quit the path of my predecessors. And if the event be the ruin of my Sovereign, then shall the rubbish of his house bury beneath it all that belongs to mine."

Thus it became a great object with the covenanting faction to destroy Huntly, and to revolutionize the district over which his loyal influence, in conjunction with the enlightened learning of Aberdeen still prevailed. The nobleman whom they selected to accomplish this important end was MONTROSE.

CHAPTER X.

HAMILTON COMMISSIONER—RETURNS TO COURT—MONTROSE'S FIRST EXPEDITION TO ABERDEEN AS A COVENANTING AGITATOR—NATURE AND CONDUCT OF THAT MISSION—ITS RECEPTION AND SUCCESS—HAMILTON'S RETURN FROM COURT—CONCESSIONS OF THE KING—CONDUCT OF THE FACTION—MONTROSE'S MOST FACTIOUS POSITION—HIS EXERTIONS TO PACK THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1638—HIS OPEN AVOWALS DAMAGING TO HIS PARTY—VIOLENT SCENE IN THE ASSEMBLY BETWEEN MONTROSE, HIS FATHER-IN-LAW, AND THE MODERATOR—HAMILTON SEIZES THE ADVANTAGE AGAINST MONTROSE, AND DISSOLVES THE ASSEMBLY—ARGYLE EMERGES ON THE SCENE—HIS CHARACTER—DISGRACEFUL PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNCONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY AGAINST THE BISHOPS—CONDUCT OF HIS MAJESTY'S ADVOCATE.

THAT which, on the very spot, was noted in the covenanting Lord Advocate's private Diary as an insurrection "by the women," and, in the private correspondence of one of the keenest of the anti-prelatic ministers, as an attempt on the part of "serving maids to pull down the bishops' pride," was not likely to convey to the monarch's ear an impression of the voice of Scotland, in any rational sense of the term. But when Charles was enabled to gather this much from the distraction of his councils in the north, that the female servants of Edinburgh, and those who had placed them in the van, were too powerful for his whole executive there, he became impressed with the necessity of quieting the public mind by the presence of a representative.

The nobleman selected for this important and difficult task, was the favourite already characterised, who had been accused of plotting to obtain the crown of Scotland for himself. This charge against the Marquis of Hamilton was at the time peremptorily silenced by the King, owing to his deeply-rooted affection for his early playmate; and now, as if to leave him not a pretext for ingratitude, he it was whom he chose as his Com-

missioner. An anecdote has already been given illustrative of the character of this Statesman, in his reception of Montrose at Court. We have also anticipated the corroborative story of his "*verbum sapienti*" to the Earl and other leaders of the faction, whom he had been commissioned to reduce to order. Baillie's pragmatical pretensions to unriddle the Sphynx of the Troubles, in his correspondence with his confidant, the minister at Campvere, is somewhat amusing:—"His Grace's countenance and carriage," says Baillie, "was so courteous, and his *private speeches* so fair, that we were in good hopes for some days to obtain all our desires." A few months afterwards, the same chronicler, in his account of the memorable Assembly of 1638, favours us with this portrait of the Commissioner:—"I take the man to be of a sharp, ready, solid, clear wit,—of a brave and masterly expression,—loud, distinct, slow, full, yet concise, modest, courtly, yet simple and natural language. If the King have many such men he is a well served prince. My thoughts of the man were *hard and base*. But a day or two's audience wrought on my mind a great change towards him, which yet remains, and ever will, till his deeds be *notoriously* evil." In the following year, however, at the treaty of Berwick, we find him again at fault in his attempts to fathom the favourite:—"The Marquis's ways were *so ambiguous that no man understood him*, only his *absolute power with the King* was oft there clearly seen."

The royal Commissioner—whose conduct it is necessary to keep in view throughout this story, in order to appreciate that of Montrose—having managed matters in Scotland so as to satisfy the leaders of the Covenant that they had the ball at their foot, returned in the month of July 1638, to report progress to his Majesty, and to obtain instructions as to the demand for an Assembly and Parliament. In the interval, the Covenanters were most anxious to bring under subjection the loyalists in the north, that when Hamilton returned it might be said that the whole of Scotland, by one spontaneous move of patriotic feeling, had come within the pale of the Covenant. Montrose upon this occasion was the leader, not of a warlike expedition, but rather of a band of itinerant agitators, taking advantage of a vacation at the main scene of action, to stir up disaffection in

quiet districts; and, by threatening the respectable and haranguing the vulgar, to create that false excitement which had succeeded so well elsewhere. There can be little doubt, however, that Rothes, still the leader of the revels, organized the scheme, and influenced his proselyte in the conduct of it. This appears from the terms of a letter, which the former addressed to his cousin, Patrick Leslie, of Aberdeen, dated 13th July 1638, announcing the advent of Montrose and his party; and the patronizing phrase by which he recommends to their submissive deference, his nominee and missionary, seems an involuntary tribute to the natural characteristics of our hero. After urging the Covenant upon the good town, as a writ inspired, to resist which would be "but a fighting against the high God," Rothes adds these pointed instructions:—"Do ye all the good ye can in that town, and in the country about,—ye will not repent it,—and attend my Lord Montrose, *who is a noble and true hearted cavalier.*" [1]

Doubtless we must concede, that, in all his phases—

> "A wight he was, whose very sight wou'd
> Intitle him, *Mirrour of Knighthood*,"—

but he was now in a *Hudibrastic* attitude, and had he lived to enjoy Butler (who by the way was born in the same year with him), must have laughed outright at his own portrait,—

> "When gospel-trumpeter, surrounded
> With long-ear'd rout, to battle sounded,
> And pulpit, drum-ecclesiastic,
> Was beat with fist, instead of a stick,
> Then did Sir Knight abandon dwelling,
> And out he rode a-colonelling."

His staff upon this occasion was composed of a few laymen, of local distinction, but mere cyphers in the great agitation: and, instead of an armed host, the redoubtable trio called the "three apostles of the Covenant,"—Henderson, Dickson, and Cant. The district to be honoured with this special visitation, was an oasis in the desert. There, all that was rational, well-ordered, and estimable, was yet predominant. Scriptural phra-

[1] Patrick Leslie had been Provost of Aberdeen, but was removed from that office for his disloyalty.

seology did not pass current for piety, nor the abusive ravings of fanaticism for the outpourings of gifted and enlightened minds. The town and college of Aberdeen were at this time rich in divines and professors, eminently distinguished for their learning, integrity, and good sense. These upon the present occasion sustained their high character, and baffled by their learning and temper the excited emissaries of the faction.

Our hero was not a stranger in Aberdeen. Nine years before, the bells were ringing there in honour of the young Benedict, when he was made a burgess, and sat for his portrait to the Scottish Vandyke.[1] The same hospitality which greeted him then was offered to him now. This hitherto happy city of peace and plenty, had prepared a collation for Montrose and his company; which being declined with some hauteur, until the authorities would submit to the Covenant, the provost and baillies, somewhat annoyed at the affront, "caused deal the wine in the bede-house, among the poor men, which they so disdainfully had refused, whereof the like was never done to Aberdeen in no man's memory."[2] Having rejected the "cup of Bon Accord," these crusaders proceeded "a-colonelling" after their own fashion. Next day, being Sunday, the three apostles modestly proposed to turn the well-conditioned pulpits of the good town into the "drum ecclesiastic." This, says Spalding, the ministers of Aberdeen would by no means accede to, "but preached themselves in their own pulpits." A godly matron came to the recue of the Covenant. Thus discomfited at their first onset, they proceeded "to the Earl Marischal's close, where the Lady Pitsligo, his sister, was then dwelling, *a rank puritan*; and the said Mr Alexander Henderson preached first, next Mr David Dickson, and lastly, Mr Andrew Cant, all on the said Sunday; and divers people flocked within the said close to hear these preachers, and *see this novelty*. Upon the morrow, being Monday, they all three preached after others (one after the other) within the said close." This delectable entertainment and exhibition, Montrose at the side of that unctuous dame Lady Pitsligo, attracted many auditors. And no wonder. The

[1] See before, p. 67. [2] Spalding.

three covenanted apostles, if not trumpet-tongued, were of that gifted nasal breed which had

> ——————" invented tones to win
> The women, and make *them* draw in
> The men, as Indians with a *female*
> Tame elephant, inveigle *the male*."

There were some, indeed, who came to scoff; and none who did so remained to pray. The apostles preached from the window of a large wooden gallery which overlooked the close, or yard, of the Earl Marischal's mansion, situated in the market-place of Aberdeen. Certain contemptuous recusants, who occupied the leads of an adjoining building, " with little civility," as another contemporary records, " threw a raven into the crowd of their convention, while they were at sermon, which was ill taken by all discreet men."[1] Montrose had here a taste of that species of eloquence, which, very shortly afterwards, when his loyalty and good sense was awakened out of the disturbed slumber that had descended upon it, he himself was constrained to characterize as " the arguments, and false positions, of *seditious preachers*."[2] The proselytes they made, few and insignificant, were such as learned and loyal Aberdeen could well spare. And some even of these refused to sign the Covenant, except under the express caveat of a pointed reservation in favour of the King's authority; which, it was at once seen, that instrument was artfully framed to overthrow. Montrose would never understand it in that sense. And when this caveat, and other crushing riders upon its mainspring, were made the conditions of the subscription of Doctor William Guild, their greatest acquisition, Montrose drew out, subscribed, and caused his present followers to subscribe along with him, this emphatic declaration, which, even at that early stage, he laid down as the measure of his defection, and beacon of his career,—" Likeas, we under subscribing do declare, that we neither had nor have

[1] James Gordon's History of Scots Affairs. Baillie mentions that, to be sure of an audience, " they wisely did choose the times when there was no public services in the churches."

[2] Montrose's Essay on Sovereign Power.

any intention but of loyalty to his Majesty, as the Covenant bears." [1]

This expedition is not worthy of more particular notice in the life of Montrose. Suffice it to mention, that he returned to Edinburgh in the month of August 1638, with the conquest of some equivocal signatures to the Covenant, the most worthless laurel he ever gained. The Doctors of Aberdeen had little more whereon to plume themselves. They remained in easy possession of a field of argument, learning, and common sense, triumphing over such antagonists as Henderson, Dickson, and Cant.

Montrose was just in time to meet Hamilton on his return from Court. The King had learnt something of the nature of the regimen of women in Scotland. He had become aware of the tactics of such ladies as the Marquis's mother and Lady Pitsligo. The favourite found that he had ventured too far, or too fast, in his colleaguing with the rioters under this petticoat government. He had been severely lectured; and, with the uncertainty of purpose that marks the whole tenor of his life, there being no substance in his character, or spirit in his composition, he returned wavering and crestfallen to his covenanting friends. "The Commissioner," says Baillie, "came back before his day, and Dr Balcanqual with him. He kept himself *more reserved* than before. *His mother he would not see.* Colonel Alexander he did discountenance. Mr Eleazer Borthwick he met not with. After four or five days parleying *no man could get his mind.* The King indeed was displeased with *his mother;* and when his brother Lord William's patent for the earldom of Dunbar came in his hand, he tore it for despite, as he professed, of her. Colonel Alexander openly did give countenance to the nobles' meetings. Mr Eleazer was the man by whom his Grace, before his commission, did *encourage us* to proceed with our supplication. From all these now his Grace's countenance was somewhat withdrawn." [2]

[1] Spalding's History of the Troubles. James Gordon's History of Scotch Affairs.

[2] Mr Eleazer Borthwick is now known to have been the great emissary between the growing revolutionary factions of England and Scotland. He was a Scotch clergyman, but of the covenanting or political temperament that was too apt in

It is well known that, upon his return to Scotland, the Commissioner, in the name of the King, offered certain rational proposals for the restoration of order, the security of the persons and property of the lieges in Scotland, and the protection of the freedom and constitutional form of elections, as the necessary conditions of summoning an Assembly and Parliament. These conditions were vehemently resisted by the Tables, whose object was to obtain such control over the returns as would insure to them the power of packing their conventions; in other words, of retaining the tables under a different denomination. Hamilton himself had suggested to the King a method of superseding the Covenant, by putting in place of it the Confession of Faith established by various statutes in the previous century (of which statutes the Covenant professed to be simply a loyal and patriotic renewal), and commanding it to be signed by his privy council in Scotland, and the whole nation. This Protestant confession (generally distinguished from the Covenant as the King's Covenant or Confession of Faith), and his Majesty's unqualified recall, by proclamation, of every measure that could be construed an innovation upon the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of Scotland, might well have satisfied the people. It would indeed have done so, had it not been the interest of a faction to meet as usual the liberal concessions of their Sovereign by a public and disingenuous protestation. The insatiable demands of the Covenanters, and their conduct throughout, have been variously commented upon, and by none with more effective severity than by Dr Cook. Speaking of the crisis to which we allude, that historian observes,—"The various acts of concession were regularly proclaimed, and it was with much reason hoped that moderate men would be contented, and

those times to supersede the pastoral duties of a Christian clergyman. "Crowner Alexander," was Colonel Alexander Hamilton, youngest brother of Thomas first Earl of Haddington, who was a cadet of Hamilton of Innerwick, who was a cadet of the great house. The Colonel had experience in mercenary service abroad, and became general of artillery to the Covenanters, who usually called him "dear Sandie." He invented, or suggested, for the use of their army, portable cannon, about three feet long, but which carried "an indifferent great ball." Being ribbed and hooped, these came to be called "dear Sandie's stoups." A stoup, says Miss Ferrier (Inheritance), "is neither a pitcher, nor a pail, nor a bucket, nor a jug, but *just a stoup*."

would resist any endeavours to thwart the intentions of the King. A protestation, however, replete with the most disingenuous reasoning, and evincing the determination of the leading Covenanters to resist all terms, was read,[1] and the Earl of Montrose appeared, upon this occasion, in name of the discontented nobility. This conduct of the Presbyterians *cannot be justified.*"[2]

Unquestionably this crisis displays Montrose in one of the most factious positions of his early and mistaken career. Yet still, though thus excited, and carried with the movement, he was an active partisan of the Covenant only in public. It was Baillie who said, that they found him " very hard to be guided." This we have interpreted to mean, that he was too honest for their counsels, and too humane for their arms. Both assertions shall be proved.

A marked feature of the General Assembly, which met at Glasgow in the month of November 1638, and of the covenanting revolution generally, was this, that in regard to all the main articles of " the cause," its most plausible professions and principles were contradicted by its practice. Popish tyranny and superstition were vaguely and irrationally imputed to the measures of Charles,—yet grossly manifested in the acts of the insurgent rulers, and the doctrines of their favourite clergy. A freely constituted National Assembly was seditiously demanded from the King,—and the Covenanters proceeded to pack a convention by means subversive of the fundamental principles of liberty and freedom of election. The inviolate possession of the laws was tumultuously maintained against a monarch who had no intention to subvert them,—and yet, before the inquisitorial tribunal of 1638, churchmen and statesmen of the first respectability, already condemned unheard, were summoned to receive their doom from self-appointed judges, who disregarded the

[1] It was read by Archibald Johnston, and most probably composed by him. It is inserted at full length in the King's Large Declaration.

[2] History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 450, 451. But why not justify them upon the " great principle," noticed before, p. 140. Perhaps the fact of *Montrose* being put forward upon this occasion rendered a justification less desirable to an historian of the Kirk.

essential rules of evidence, and seemed even to scorn the attributes of justice and mercy. It is the unpleasant duty of Montrose's biographer to record all that can be discovered of his conduct and demeanour as a leader in that unconstitutional Assembly; which, while it arrogated the power and professed the forms of law, and, moreover, pretended to every attribute of christian purity and divine right, took no step that was not illegal, pronounced no sentence that was not unjust, manifested no feeling that was not unchristian, and, finally, has left, even in the record of its proceedings by an enthusiastic member,[1] a beacon to be avoided in after-ages by every legal court and ecclesiastical community. Even the vaunted freedom of this convention was a mockery and a cheat. It was tyrannically packed by, and for the purposes of, a faction. "Thirty-nine presbyteries," says Baillie, when recording the constitution of the Assembly, "already have chosen their commissioners, *as they were desired*" by the Tables in Edinburgh.

Certain private instructions had been sent to the presbytery of Brechin to direct them in the choice of a representative. Erskine of Dun was elected in this capacity, by the voice of *one* minister, and some lay elders. Thereafter, they met in a greater number, and, by the votes of all the other ministers and elders, Lord Carnegie, the eldest son of the Earl of Southesk, and Montrose's brother-in-law, was chosen. The former commission having been transmitted by the presbytery to be advised by the Tables, was returned with an *imprimatur* on the back of it, to this effect, that the election must be sustained, while that of Carnegie was illegal, having passed contrary to the instructions given them. The leading signature to this bold assumption of authority was that of Montrose, who, accordingly, now tendered Erskine's commission to be read publicly by the clerk of the Assembly. Baillie says, "The clerk, I think *unadvisedly*, read in public not only the commission, but also the Tables' subscribed *approbation* on the back." It is mentioned elsewhere that the same functionary recited various reasons written on the back of Erskine's commission in support of it, "in which, amongst other things, it was objected against

[1] Baillie.

the Lord Carnegie's election, that it was made contrary to the direction of the Tables at Edinburgh, which the clerk perceiving stopped, and would read no further."[1] Hamilton instantly caught at the advantage, and demanded a copy of that commission, with the deliverance on the back, and the names of those who had subscribed it. The earnestness with which he pressed this demand, in the name of the King, and the severity of his animadversions upon the proceedings of the disaffected party, present one of those contradictory views of his conduct which sometimes raise a doubt whether his object was to support the Throne or the Covenant. It must be observed, however, that upon the present occasion he knew that Montrose was the person responsible for this undisguised assertion of the supreme jurisdiction of the Tables. The following additional particulars of this scene are chronicled by the parson of Rothiemay :—

" Montrose disputed for Dun, and by eighty persons attested Dun's election. Southesk disputed for Carnegie his son, with whom the Commissioner, in Carnegie's absence, took part; but the Assembly sided with Dun. The stir grew so great that the Moderator wished both their commissions to have been annulled before such heat should have been. To this did Southesk answer sharply. The Moderator replied that he had been his minister twenty-four years, yet had never wronged him. Loudon then said that no lord ought to upbraid a moderator; and then Southesk excused himself, and qualified his own words. The contest betwixt Montrose and Southesk grew so hot that it *terrified* the whole Assembly, so that the Commissioner took upon him the Moderator's place, and commanded them all to peace."

And here it is that Baillie supplies a fact of importance to our estimate of Montrose's conduct and character, while thus invoking the demon of revolution. This clergyman's own objection to the proceedings was, not that the Tables controlled the presbyteries, but that the young Earl should have been so rash as to commit his party by a written declaration to that effect on the back of the commission, and the clerk of the Assembly so hasty as to read it aloud. " When," says he, " Mr

[1] The King's Large Declaration.

David Dickson spake of this back writ as having some *negligence* in it, Montrose took him *hotly*, and professed their resolution to *avow the least jot that was wrote.*" Yes, " his more than ordinary and evil pride was very hard to be guided." Courage and honesty were not the attributes of his present associates.

Some writers, regarding Baillie as a prodigy of learning, wisdom, and religion, imagine that all which he has uttered respecting Montrose must be received as infallible. A careful perusal of that clergyman's letters, however, suggests the question, Was he capable of understanding the character and appreciating the motives of this nobleman? Baillie was learned in the sense of having acquired a knowledge of languages. He had a conscience, for it cost him no little trouble to keep it quiet. He was more enlightened than some of his brethren, for he dissented from the opinion that Episcopacy was a sin in the sight of God,—although he continued to make common cause with its most irrational abjurers and destroyers. Nay, he was loyal, for he entertained a secret admiration, as well as a species of latent kindness, for the monarch whose ruin he nevertheless so zealously aided to accomplish. But neither his learning nor his conscience was sufficient to save him from becoming a blind instrument in the hands of democratic spirits. And thus it is that the voluminous records he has left (in those letters to his kinsman which are so damaging to the cause), present so many inconsistencies. His better judgment was continually overwhelmed by fits of fanaticism ; and whatever he possessed of modesty and moderation, became strangely mingled with obstinacy and violence, as his pragmatical mind grew more and more excited under the fantastical banner of the Covenant.

Upon the 27th of November 1638, Hamilton wrote a letter to the King, denouncing Scotland in terms of execration that would have astonished their deluded chronicler, whose character we have just been considering. It was a day or two after that scene in the Assembly, in which our hero had made himself so conspicuous, that the favourite, in depicting the covenanting nobles to the King, exulting wrote of his alarming rival in these terms :—" There are many others as forward in show, amongst whom *none more vainly foolish than Montrose.*"

Upon Wednesday, the 28th November, Hamilton dissolved

the Assembly. They determined, however, to sit without the royal authority, in order to effect their schemes against the Bishops. "When the Moderator," says Baillie, "pressed the voicing if we were the Bishops' judges, there fell a sad, grave, and sorrowful discourse. This was the Commissioner's last passage. He acted it *with tears*, and drew, by his speech, water from many eyes, *as I think*:—Well I wot much from mine; for then I apprehended the certainty inevitable of these tragedies which now are in doing. Much was said of his sincere endeavours to serve God, the King, and his Country; of his grief, yet necessity, to depart. The cause, he alleged, was the spoiling of the Assembly, which he had obtained most free, by our most partial directions from our Tables at Edinburgh." Was it his earnest desire for the constitutional purity of the Assembly, or his jealousy of Montrose, that induced Hamilton to seize upon the circumstance,—which the other alone had *avowed*,—as the cause of his departure, and of his leaving the Bishops to their fate?

This was the occasion when Argyle, though not even a member of assembly, now openly declared against the King, and placed himself at the head of the government of Scotland. The vast possessions, the great following, and inaccessible strongholds of this potentate, left him, notwithstanding his constitutional nervousness, without a competitor in such a pretension. As we are soon to find Montrose under his deadly persecution, we must here shortly illustrate his character and present position.

Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl, and Marquis of Argyle, is generally described as of mean stature, and a most sinister expression of countenance, and obliquity of vision. This description is abundantly confirmed by the original portrait of him in the family.[1] The graphic delineations are well authenticated by all that is known of the man.

"Montrose," says Clarendon, "had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt, of the Marquis of Argyle (as

[1] A singular mistake occurs in Lodge's Portraits. A flattered engraving, from the portrait of the Grim Marquis, is attached to the life of *his son*; and another portrait, still more flattering, given as that of the former.

he was too apt to contemn those he did not love), who wanted nothing but *honesty* and *courage* to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree." The same noble author also remarks of these rivals, that "the people looked upon them both as young men of unlimited ambition, and used to say, that they were liked Cæsar and Pompey, the one would endure no superior, and the other would have no equal." De Retz confirms the comparison as regards Montrose, —the parallel between Pompey and Argyle would be more difficult to illustrate. The father of this last had embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and the King, never papistically inclined, commanded him to divest himself of his vast territorial rights in favour of his son, reserving only a competency for his own life. Clarendon tells us that Lorn had provoked his parent by "disobedience and insolence;" and the old Earl meditated such a disposal of the property as threatened his representative with impoverished titles. Charles, to save the family, made that arrangement which banished the father, and extorted from him those memorable and prophetic sentences, "'He would submit to the King's pleasure, though he believed he was hardly dealt with;' and then, with some bitterness, put his son in mind of his undutiful carriage towards him, and charged him to carry in his mind how bountiful the King had been to him, which yet he told him he was sure he would forget, and thereupon said to his Majesty, 'Sir, I must know this young man better than you can do; you may raise him, which I doubt you will live to repent, for he is a man of craft, subtility, and falsehood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do you mischief, he will be sure to do it.'"

Argyle well understood the art of ingratiating himself with the fanatical portion of the ministry in Scotland. For some time he even persuaded them that he was as capable in the field as in the senate; and he professed, and was by such believed, to be under the immediate direction of the Almighty in all his political and martial movements. His character was another puzzle for Baillie; and the naïveté of that clergyman's record is not less amusing than instructive. "Before his Grace's departure, Argyle craved leave to speak, and that time we did not well understand him; but his actions since have made his *somewhat*

ambiguous speeches plain." When the commissioner left them, the meeting were in a state of confusion and perplexity, and "some three or four Angus men, with the laird of Aithie, departed, alleging their commission had an express clause of the King's countenancing of the Assembly." The Moderator, Loudon, and some others, harangued them on the propriety of protesting against the Marquis's departure, and of their continuing to sit. To this all agreed; but, adds Baillie, "it was good we were all put to it presently, for if it had been delayed till the morrow, it is feared *many would have slipt away*." On the morrow, however, "Argyle came back to us. The Moderator earnestly entreated him, that though he was no member of the Assembly, yet, for the common interest he had in the Church, he would be pleased to countenance our meetings, and bear witness of the righteousness of all our proceedings. This, to all our great joy, he promised to do, and truly performed his promise. No one thing did confirm us so much as Argyle's presence, not only as he was by far the most powerful subject in the kingdom, but also at this time in good grace with the King and the commissioner. We could not conceive but his staying was with the allowance of both, permitting him to be amongst us to keep matters in some temper, and hold us from desperate extremities." The fact is unquestionable, however, that Argyle took this opportunity of unmasking himself, and of usurping, after *his* kind, the government of Scotland. Under the peculiar circumstances, his thus taking the vacant place of royalty was equivalent to being declared supreme. Charles had honoured and trusted him (he was even a privy councillor), notwithstanding the solemn declarations of the old earl, that neither loyalty, nor truth, nor social feeling, would be found in his son Lorn. This prophecy was now to be fulfilled. The revolutionary convocation of 1638, assembled in that nobleman's patrimonial kingdom of the west, and suddenly left without a head, was now ripe for his lurking ambition. How accurately had his father predicted in that solemn warning to Charles! A few years from the time it was uttered, and disregarded, the King himself was constrained to publish a most severe commentary upon the conduct and character of Argyle.[1]

[1] See the King's Large Declaration, 1639, p. 325.

Under the auspices, then, of this very equivocal character, the destruction of the episcopal clergy commenced; and we may pause for a moment to consider the "righteousness" of the proceedings to which this designing intruder was called to bear witness, and to countenance. The Bishops declined their judges, a step consistent at once with respect to their own characters and to the fundamental principles of the constitution. From their presbyterial Vatican the Assembly now proposed to launch the thunders of excommunication. Baillie opposed this. "Excommunication," says he, "seemed to me so terrible a sentence, —and that obstinacy, the formal cause of it, required admonition and some delay of time, after the close of the process,— that I voiced him" (the Bishop of Galloway, their first victim) "to be deposed, but not presently excommunicated. In this I was followed by some five or six, but the rest went on to present excommunication. I remained that night in my negative voice, that no Bishop should be excommunicated till they had gotten more time to declare their contempt of public admonition from the pulpit of Edinburgh and their cathedral; yet, considering better of their declinature, I found it an obstinate avowing of extreme contempt, and so, to-morrow, I professed my recalling of my yesterday's voice, and went with the rest in a present excommunication of all the declining Bishops." And yet, if a Bishop, when he heard of extravagant and false accusations entertained against him in his absence, proposed to appear and justify himself, that proposition was termed impudence. "The Bishop of Brechin," says Baillie, "followed. He was proven guilty of sundry acts of most vile drunkenness, also a woman and child brought before us that made his adultery very probable; also his using of a massy crucifix in his chamber. The man was *reputed* to be universally infamous for many crimes, yet such was his *impudence*, that it was said he was ready to have compeared before us for his justification; but was stayed by the Marquis, lest his compearance should have been [taken] for an acknowledgment of the judicatory."[1] It is something

[1] Baillie's prejudiced statement of what he says was proved against this prelate is, under the circumstances, worthy of no credit. In their absence the most improbable charges were received against the accused, and the very accusation was considered tantamount to proof. They proceeded upon this atrocious and dishonest

however in favour of this bishop, that he was an acquaintance of his Majesty's Advocate; for, whatever might be the failings of the latter, he was rigidly decent and dignified in his domestic habits. The following notice of Brechin's excommunication occurs in Sir Thomas's Diary:

"17th Decem. 1638.—This day I went to the Abbey, and met with my Lord Commissioner, and was to take my leave of his Grace. But he told me that he was not to go away suddenly, and that he would send for me before he went. Item, here the Bishop of Brechin, Mr Walter Whytfurd (as I was standing in the gallery[1] with my Lord Lauderdaill, and my Lord Maitland,[2] his son), came furth from the Marquis;[3] and I, being unwilling to salute him, turned my back, and, as soon as he was passed by, I went into the chamber at the end of the gallery. And I was not long there when Mr Walter Whytfurd came and called for me: And I told him that there had been inter-acquaintance betwixt him and me of before, but now I must suspend it. And he asked, wherefore? And I said, because of the intimation of his excommunication yesterday, the which I heard read. He answered, that I was bound by promise to his Majesty to assist Episcopacy. I answered that my promise was in civil privileges, but not in those which concerned spiritual and ecclesiastical power. He replied that I had soli-

assumption, that, to be a Bishop was to be a blackguard. Baillie himself sometimes was conscious that the monstrous charges were incapable of proof. Speaking of the Bishop of Murray, he says, "Murray had *the ordinary faults of a bishop*;—a fourteen days ago Mr Henry Pollock excommunicated Murray, and, as I think, in the great church; to perform, as he said, the man's own prophecy, who said in that place, 'he would yet be more vile to please the King.' There was objected against him, but, *as I suspect, not sufficiently proven*, his countenance of a dance of naked people in his own house, and of women going bare-footed in pilgrimage not far from his dwelling." No unprejudiced mind can be otherwise than persuaded, by the perusal alone of Baillie's History of the Assembly of 1638, that that convocation totally disregarded all the established rules of evidence and fair trial.

[1] The great gallery of Holyroodhouse.

[2] The notorious Lauderdale, who was Prime Minister, and persecutor of the Covenanters, in the reign of Charles II.; though, when Lord Maitland, a keen Covenanter.

[3] Upon the occasion probably alluded to by Baillie, when the bishop had been advised by the Marquis of Hamilton not to acknowledge the Assembly by appearing to justify himself.

cited bishops to admit ministers. I answered how I did it, in respect they had then both the keys in their hands; but now they wanted one of them, which was the chiefest, viz. Assembly. And then he fell out in these disdainful words, 'Ye are over pert, that dare have respect to any acts of your rebellious Assembly, seeing his Majesty discharges them to sit, under pain of treason.' And with this he flew away." [1]

Taking along with Baillie's indignation at what he calls this prelate's *impudence*, for proposing to face his accusers, and to justify himself, that secret letter of instructions to Archibald Johnston, already quoted, in which this very bishop is marked out for assault, if not murder, should he dare to appear on the streets, it seems to be proved beyond question, that all the most zealous Covenanters considered that the destruction of the Episcopal clergy must be effected *per fas aut nefas*, and that the precepts of Christianity, and the golden rules and principles of evidence, were by no means to enter into their definition of "righteous proceeding." The letter alluded to, which is dated immediately before the meeting of the very Assembly that was to try the bishops, is most material to the merits of that anomalous court of justice. It proves, that although these prelates were summoned to the bar of the Assembly, and excommunicated for declining that unconstitutional and unscrupulous jurisdiction, it was secretly predetermined, by those who ruled the movement, that rather than suffer the Bishops to meet their accusers, or even to shew themselves in public, a mob should be secretly organized for their "terror and disgrace." [2]

Montrose had no hand in this peculiar mode of promoting the cause of Religion and Liberty. But it is the least favourable circumstance in the history of his career, that, being a member of an Assembly to which this secret machinery belonged, he was, more or less, committed to all their *public* proceedings. He had

[1] This curious anecdote, Sir Thomas Hope entitles, on the margin, "Mr Walter Whytfurd's misbehaviour." The reader will judge, on the Advocate's own shewing, who had the best of this skirmish, the calumniated and persecuted bishop, or the first law officer of the Crown.

[2] See before, p. 131.

not even the poor excuse of fanaticism; nor does he appear to have been imbued with a persecuting spirit against the prelates, or to have sanctified to himself the unchristian feelings with which they were persecuted. He had adopted the opinion that bishops should be excluded from the constitution of the Church of Scotland, and that the original Covenant of King James should be renewed and maintained to that country for ever. But he took no part in the forms of process or rules of evidence that were outraged in these proceedings. He was careless (as he afterwards declared) about Bishops and their fate; and it required another step in advance against the Throne to rouse his juster feelings, and to redeem him from the false position of his ardent youth.

CHAPTER XI.

MONTROSE VIOLENTLY OPPOSED TO HIS FATHER-IN-LAW—HIS FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ROYALISTS IN THE NORTH—CONDUCT OF HAMILTON—GENERAL ALEXANDER LESLIE—HIS BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND CHARACTER—MONTROSE COMMISSIONED AS GENERAL OF THE COVENANTING FORCES—MARCHES AGAINST HUNTLY AND THE TOWN OF ABERDEEN—HUNTLY AVOIDS A BATTLE—MONTROSE'S WHIMSIES—HIS TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO ABERDEEN—TRANSACTIONS THERE—HIS FORBEARANCE TOWARDS THE TOWN—HIS MEETING WITH HUNTLY AT INVERURY—HUNTLY BROUGHT PRISONER TO EDINBURGH—THE HUMANITY AND FORBEARANCE OF MONTROSE DISAPPOINTS THE COVENANTING PREACHERS, AND BRINGS HIM INTO DISREPUTE WITH THEM.

MONTROSE no longer found himself at home in the castle of Kinnaird. There he had spent his honey-moon, and the first three years of his married life. There, too, he was still represented by his boyish portrait. But he was now at high feud with his father-in-law, the Earl of Southesk: who, as a privy councillor, still joined in feeble and worse than useless measures for supporting the royal authority. A cautious and worldly-wise man, he was never greatly committed either to one side or other, during the civil war. So he contrived to live through it, little worse off than uncomfortable, and to die in his bed, long after the illustrious husband of his daughter, Mrs Magdalene Carnegie, was hanged. Sometime before that tragedy occurred, we find Southesk in tolerable favour with the covenanting government, during its most vicious era. At the present early stage of the rebellion, however, he stands in public and fierce opposition to his son-in-law, now distinguished as "a noble and true-hearted cavalier," the champion of the Covenant! We have seen how their war of words "terrified" the Assembly that destroyed the Bishops, a convention surely not easily alarmed, and certainly

ashamed of nothing. This was in the close of the year 1638. At the commencement of the year following, another collision occurred between them, of the same personal character, wherein our hero is discovered very nearly at the culminating point of his short but sharp career of rebellious liberalism. Huntly would not be "brought in." Aberdeen would not bow the knee to Baal. Both must be compelled; and the peaceful and well-ordered christian community of the north of Scotland reduced per force, to that ungainly model which Archibald Johnston of Warriston had fashioned to the taste of Rothes, the Lord Advocate, the Apostles of the Covenant, and Jenny Geddes. Montrose was again selected to accomplish this *sine qua non* of the movement.

Upon the first of February 1639, accompanied by the Earl of Kinghorn, his brother Lyon of Auldbar, and several others of the covenanting faction, our hero came to Forfar, the head burgh of the shire of Angus, and there, by direction of the Tables, held a committee within the Tolbooth of the town. In opposition to these intruders came the Earl of Southesk, Lord Ogilvy, the Master of Spynie, the Constable of Dundee, and sundry other loyalists. The committee required them to subscribe the latest edition of the Covenant, containing the unqualified abjuration of Episcopacy, as unlawful in itself; but having received the indignant reply they probably anticipated, Montrose and his friends proceeded to their chief business, which was to provide the sinews of war, by *stenting* or apportioning the financial burden of it upon the landholders within the shire. "Southesk," says honest Spalding, "speired (inquired) by what authority they were thus stenting the King's leidges? Montrose, being his son-in-law, answered, their warrant was from the Table, requiring him also, and the rest that were there, to number their men, and have them well armed, and in readiness to concur and assist the Table. Southesk answered, they were all the King's men, subject to his service, but to no Table nor subject sitting thereat, and that their lands were not subject to be stented, nor their men numbered, but at the King's command and in his service, and so they took their departure, leaving Montrose and the rest sitting still in the tolbooth of Forfar, at their committee."

At this same time intelligence was brought to Huntly that Montrose and his committee were to hold a meeting at Turreff, a market-town about eleven miles eastward of Huntly's castle of Strathbogie, and that their object was to join in a grand conclave with the northern Covenanters, chiefly composed of the Forbeses, Frasers, Keiths, and Crichtons. Huntly was strenuously advised, by Ogilvy of Banff, to muster his followers at the same place, on the same day, to operate as a check upon the Covenanters. Montrose was informed of this resolution, but the effect upon his ardent and enterprizing disposition was the reverse of what had been expected. "Montrose," says James Gordon, "was ready at a call, and,—being desirous to show himself as active in his charge as he had been remarkable for countenancing protestations, and the General Assembly of Glasgow, and pulling down the organs of the chapel royal of Holyroodhouse, in the King's Palace, the summer and winter past,—with such of the cavalry of the Mearns and Angus gentry as were nearest or readiest, or most zealous to the service, he flies over the Grampian hills with all speed possible, scarce ever sleeping or resting till he got to Turreff, accompanied with the number of near two hundred gallant gentlemen, having first not neglected to bid the Forbeses and Frasers, and all whom the shortness of the time could permit them to convene, to be there timeously upon the day appointed, which they failed not to do." By means of this forced march, the first indication of that military genius which so greatly distinguished him in a better cause, Montrose reached Turreff before Huntly arrived, and mustering with his own followers and friends who had joined him, to the number, says Spalding, of "eight hundred well-horsed, well-armed gentlemen, and foot, together with buff coats, swords, corslets, jacks, pistols, carbines, hagbuts, and other weapons,—they took into the town of Turreff, and busked (arranged) very advantageously their muskets round about the dykes of the kirk-yard, and sat within the kirk thereof, such as were of the committee, viz. Montrose, Kinghorn, Cooper, Frazer, and Forbes."

No sooner were they thus established, than the van of Huntly's army arrived; but finding the village so formidably occupied, these drew off to the fields in the neighbourhood. The royal

Lieutenant was accompanied by a host of "gentlemen and others, about 2500, all mounted on horse, though all the horse not fit for service, nor all the men fit to serve on horse." For his council of war he had his gallant sons, the Lords Gordon and Aboyne, who, with the loyal lairds, Drum, Banff, Gight, Haddo, Pitfoddels, Foveran, Newtoun, and Udny, urged their commander to fall on the Covenanters at once, and crush rebellion on its first appearance. In reply to their spirited reasoning, he could only answer, that his *orders* were *not to fight;* and, taking aside the principal noblemen and gentlemen of his train, he satisfied them of the discouraging fact, by showing the instructions he had received from the King through Hamilton.

Meanwhile the Earl of Finlater, who accompanied Huntly, but, as alleged by the contemporary chroniclers, with little stomach for fighting, of his own accord passed over to Montrose, to deprecate a collision. The latter sent back this message, that he and his followers had no intention of breaking the public peace, or of molesting any one, but would not submit to injury, if they could help it; adding, that, if Huntly and his friends had business to transact in the town of Turreff, they might betake themselves to any part of it except that occupied by the Covenanters. So ended a meeting from which much was expected and little came to pass. The chief of the Gordons broke up his rendezvous before sunset, and sent the most of his own followers back to Strathbogie, under the command of his second son, the Viscount of Aboyne, directing his own course towards Forglen, the house of Ogilvy of Banff, accompanied by Lord Gordon, and the brave barons whose blood was up in vain. They dashed their steeds through the village of Turreff, riding under the walls of the kirk-yard, and within two pikes' length of Montrose and his menacing comrades. But not a word was interchanged, and no salutation, or sign of courtesy, passed between the loyal Gordon and the covenanting Graham. Baillie,—prejudiced, and ill informed as to the motives and springs of action that regulated the conduct of many whom he records,—when rejoicing, with fanatical excitement, over the sufferings of the north, speaks of Huntly as one whose *cowardice* had betrayed the party that relied upon him. In France, however, where that nobleman was better known,

the rumour of this rendezvous took its shape from the reputation he had acquired in a land of chivalry. "This is that meeting," says James Gordon, after narrating what we have more shortly noticed, "which afterwards was known under the name of the *first raid of Turreff*, to distinguish it from a rencontre that fell out there in May following, that year (1639), betwixt Huntly's followers and their neighbours, the Covenanters of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. It was looked upon as an action on Huntly's part, whose depth or mystery few or none could dive into. Yet fame, that is no niggard in her reports, when it came the length of Paris, made it pass there, in the Parisian gazette, under no less a notion than *the siege and taking of the great town of Turreff, in Scotland, by the Marquis of Huntly*,—whom France knew better than they knew Turreff, having seen him some few years before amongst the armies of the most Christian King, commander of the company of the Scottish *gendarmes*, which company is the second of France, in the service against Lorrain and Alsatia, where likewise his two eldest sons, George Lord Gordon, and James Viscount of Aboyne, past their apprenticeships in the school of Mars."

The good town of Aberdeen, expecting a visit from Montrose, had placed themselves in a most formidable posture of defence. But the day after Huntly broke up his array, our hero disbanded his own party, and returned south, where preparations were to be made on a greater scale against the stronghold of loyalty and learning.

It was now intended to decide the controversy between the Covenant and the Doctors of Aberdeen, by the argument of infallible artillery, and "the holy text of pike and gun." Hamilton was playing the cards of the King beautifully for the Covenanters; and a glance at the policy by which he utterly paralized the loyalty of the north, is necessary in order to illustrate the now hostile position of Huntly and Montrose. To that policy may be traced the ruin of the King's affairs in Scotland, and the eventual failure of those desperate efforts in support of the Throne, which ere long were immortalizing the greatest of the Grahams, at a time when the soured and broken-spirited

Lieutenant of the North, once the gayest of the "gay Gordons," was *non est inventus*.

The Covenanters well knew that so long as Huntly was strong in the north, they could not venture to make head against the King on the borders. Hence the royal Commissioner's attention to that quarter was anxiously watched by them. In the letter of 13th July 1638, addressed by Rothes to Patrick Lesly of Aberdeen, as already quoted, he reports, with evident satisfaction, that "Huntly was but *slighted* by the Commissioner, and not of his Privy Council." He ought to have been taken to his bosom. Following out the contrary system, Hamilton, whose desire was to check in the bud every pretension to compete with himself in ruling the destinies of Scotland and the King, reports Huntly to his master in terms of perplexing doubt, and very equivocal praise. In one of the craftiest letters ever penned, in which he passes the Scottish peers in review before the King with such colouring as best suited his object, he speaks of Huntly in a manner calculated to inspire no confidence either in his loyalty or his power. "The best way," he says, "that for the present I can think on to make some head for your Majesty, is to appoint the Marquis of Huntly in the north your Majesty's Lieutenant, with full power to him to raise such and so many men as he shall think convenient for the defence of the country." Yet in the very same letter, the wily favourite renders this advice utterly nugatory by what follows:—"The Marquis of Huntly is *unknown to me*, more than in general; but much misliked is he here—yet not the worse for that—traduced to be not only popishly inclined, but even a direct Roman Catholic; nay, they spare not to tax him with personal faults: But however, this I am sure of, *since my coming here* he hath proved a faithful servant to you, and I am confident will be of greater use when your Majesty shall take arms in your hand." But the character of the most loyal man in Scotland, and of the greatest following in the north, was not permitted to rest here. In a subsequent part of his letter he adds,—"The Marquis of Huntly certainly may be trusted by you, but *whether fitly or no I cannot say*."

When in a series of political portraits thus cunningly sketched, Hamilton adds:—"Though *next hell I hate this place* (Scot-

land), if you think *me* worthy of any employment, I shall not weary till the government be again set right, and then I will forswear this country,"—it is impossible to doubt that his selfish object was still to preserve his exclusive influence over the King, and the affairs of Scotland. Such was the effect, at least, of his letter; for by the return of post his Majesty replied:—"HAMILTON—I have sent back this honest bearer both for safety of my letters, and to ease me from length of writing; therefore, in a word, I thank you for your full and clear dispatch, totally agreeing with you in every point, as well in the *characters of men*, as in the way *you have set down* to reduce them to obedience; only the time when to begin to act is considerable. To this end I have fully instructed the bearer with the state of my preparations, that you may govern my business accordingly. You have given me such good satisfaction that *I mean not to put any other in the chief trust in these affairs but yourself*."

Under these fatal auspices, Huntly was nominally invested with the lieutenancy of the north, and with authority to raise his own levies for the King's service. Most reasonably had he required that, along with his commission, there should be sent to him from England two or three thousand men, and arms for five thousand more, as he was in daily expectation of a hostile visit from Montrose. Upon the 25th of January 1639, Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys, a keen Covenanter, though attached to the house of Huntly, came to the Marquis, and in a friendly manner told him that the Tables at Edinburgh had directed a committee to publish the acts of the last Assembly at the market-cross of Aberdeen, and also to visit the College of Old Aberdeen, and "repair the faults thereof." Upon Huntly's expressing some disapprobation of this plan, as contrary to the King's authority, and the peace of the country, Sir Thomas replied,—"My Lord, I fear these things will be done with an army." In vain the gallant Huntly took up his abode in Aberdeen,—his person guarded night and day by four-and-twenty gentlemen of rank and condition,—and, from thence cast many a longing look to the sea-port for his promised succours from England. "The commission Huntly received,—the aid of men was promised,—but nothing came to him, after much expectation, but arms for three thousand foot and a hundred horse,

which came not to him till that year in March, and were sent upon the charges of Dr Morton, Bishop of Durham. As for the soldiers who should have landed at Aberdeen, or elsewhere, it is true that the King had promised Huntly assistance of men, but the Marquis of Hamilton,—who always looked upon Huntly with an evil eye, as the emulator of his greatness, and withal was a secret friend to the Covenanters,—dissuaded the King from sending men, alleging for his reason that, if the King did so, it would turn all the burden of the war upon the King. How truly this was said I leave to the readers. One thing certainly is true, that, by this counsel, the King's hopes that he had conceived from his friends in Scotland were blasted; for the noblemen and Highlanders, who stood for the King in Scotland, promised their concurrence upon that express condition, that they might have a considerable number of trained soldiers to join with; who never appearing, some of those who had undertaken to do much for the King, either could not, or made that their pretext why they would not stir. It was by this means that Huntly was engaged in a manner alone, and necessitated to lay down his arms, and render himself in March following!"[1]

But Hamilton was not contented with leaving Huntly to his own resources at this critical juncture. The King wrote to the latter that he, Huntly, must receive all his commands from Hamilton; and the instructions which, through this channel, Huntly did receive were, to remain as much as possible on the defensive, and to risk no hostilities. Thus all the loyalty of the north became worse than useless, and the gallant and energetic preparations, which had been made by the Aberdonians in defence of their Religion, their Liberties, and their King, only brought severer persecution upon themselves.

[1] James Gordon's History of Scots affairs. Bishop Burnet is totally unable to disprove this charge; and the defence he attempts, in a single paragraph of his notorious apology for the Duke of Hamilton, p. 117, is a complete failure. It is observable, that the Bishop does not venture to print the long letter from Hamilton to the King, in which he comments upon the characters of his brother peers in Scotland, and execrates his native country in such bitter and abusive terms. Yet he had found the letter among the Hamilton archives, as he refers to it *more suo*. It was subsequently made public by Lord Hardwick in his valuable collection of state papers. The date of the letter is November 27, 1638.

The momentary glaring on each other at Turreff, irritated the chief of the Gordons and the chief of the Grahams to active operations for a hostile encounter. Huntly still expected the reinforcements from England, along with instructions to act, and in the meanwhile raised a little army entirely from his own private resources. This consisted of about three thousand horse and foot, which were mustered at Inverury in the end of March 1639. Montrose was not less active, to put himself in a posture offensive, and resolved to be no longer as peaceful as he had been at Turreff. He sent intimation of his plans to the Forbeses, Frazers, and others, in the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, and advertised the Covenanters be-north the river Spey, such as belonged to Murray, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, to be ready to join him, if need should be.

For more than a twelvemonth past, and ere the King had been led by Hamilton to contemplate the necessity of an appeal to arms, the junto at Edinburgh had been secretly preparing for civil war, by collecting ammunition, pikes, and other offensive weapons, and enticing home, from mercenary campaigns on the continent, their war and weather-beaten countrymen, who had served the very best apprenticeship for the purposes of the faction. It was not merely the military experience of such officers that would render them more efficient than even Montrose, as the pretended defence of Religion and Liberties became developed in its offensive form of a factious rebellion. The inferior and professional status of these mercenaries, guaranteed the cause from the fatal effect of rivalry among noblemen, whose relative claims to command could not have been so easily adjusted. Moreover,—an invaluable circumstance to the covenanting arms,—it was the principle of mercenary service to attend rather to the profit that might be gained in the professional engagement, than to the merits or the nature of the cause espoused. The well known Sir James Turner (who became a covenanting soldier for a short time, simply because, when in search of service, he happened to stumble upon their army), makes this confession in his amusing memoirs, that he himself was one who "had swallowed, without chewing, in Germany, a very dangerous maxim, which military men there too much follow, which was, that so we serve our masters honestly, it is no

matter what master we serve." It happened, accordingly, that the German wars had trained up a general who in every respect was most suited for the purposes of the "prime Covenanters." But this celebrated character must be introduced in the words of the dramatic Spalding.

"Now about this time (January 1639), or a little before, there came out of Germany, from the wars, home to Scotland, ane gentleman of base birth,[1] born in Balveny, who had served long and fortunately in the German wars, and called to his name Felt Marshall Leslie, his Excellence. His name, indeed, was (Alexander) Leslie, but, by his valour and good luck, attained to this title, *his Excellence*, inferior to none but to the King of Sweden, under whom he served amongst all his cavallirie. Well,—this Felt Marshall Leslie, having conquest, frae nought honour, and wealth in great abundance, resolved to come home to his native country of Scotland, and settle besides his chief, the Earl of Rothes; as he did indeed, and coft fair lands in Fife. But this Earl, *foreseeing the troubles*, whereof himself was one of the principal beginners, *took hold of this Leslie*,

[1] If the peerage writers were accurate in assigning to this celebrated mercenary a legitimate descent—which they do without a vestige of authority—Spalding's assertion that he was "of base birth," would not be intelligible; for he at the same time says, that the Earl of Rothes was his chief. The expression, however, is explained by a note of James Man's, to his MS. historical collections for a history of Scots affairs, preserved in the Advocates' Library. "Spalding," he says, "seems to have mistaken the place of General Leslie's birth. *Balveny* was never possessed by the Leslies; but *Tullich* over against it, on the east side of the water of Fiddich, and *Kininvie*, a mile to the north of Tullich, a most pleasant seat on the same water of Fiddich, belonging to them at this day. A gentleman of the family told me that General Leslie was a natural son of Kininvie's; and that his mother, during her pregnancy, could eat nothing but wheat bread, and drink nothing but wine, which Kininvie allowed her to be provided of, though she was no more than a common servant; a sign that the child she was big with would prove an extraordinary person."

James Man was Master of the Poor's Hospital at Aberdeen, where he died in October 1761. The Laird of Kininvie would seem to have been more anxious to bring his bastard to light than to learning; as, according to Lord Hailes, this companion of Gustavus Adolphus used to say of himself, that he never got beyond the letter G in the alphabet. We may presume that he was also proud of his birth; seeing that it was "the *serving-maids* who first began to pull down the Bishops' pride;" and so made him an Earl! His instantaneous ingratitude, to the sovereign who had so undeservedly rewarded him, is perhaps the most gross instance of the kind on historical record.

who was both wise and stout, acquaints him with this plot, and had his advice for furthering thereof to his power. And first, he advises cannon to be cast in the Potter-row, by one Captain Hamilton;[1] he began to drill the Earl's men in Fife; he caused send to Holland for ammunition, powder, and ball, muskets, carbines, pistols, pikes, swords, cannon, cartill, and all other sort of necessary arms, fit for old and young soldiers, in great abundance; he caused send to Germany, France, Holland, Denmark, and other countries, for the most expert and valiant captains, lieutenants, and under officers, who came in great numbers, in hopes of bloody wars, thinking (as they were all *Scots* soldiers that came) to make up their *fortunes* upon the ruin of our kingdom; (but the Lord did otherwise, blessed be his holy name); he establishes a council of war, consisting of nobles, colonels, captains, and other wise and expert persons, and in the beginning of this month of January, began to cast trenches, about the town of Leith."

Thus the "canniness" of Rothes did more for the cause, by catching Felt-Marshal Leslie, his Excellence, than could possibly have been effected by any other means. Having thus entered into contract with his chief against his Sovereign, the veteran mercenary, full of talent, experience, and military resources, bent his whole energies to the fulfilment of that contract, and the attainment of his own reward, which he then little dreamt was to be an Earldom from the King himself! As yet invested with no particular command, he continually sat at their Tables, the mainspring of their military movements, and, by his indefatigable and well-applied exertions, not only put them in possession of the Castle of Edinburgh (which Hamilton had left nearly defenceless), and the other strongholds of the kingdom, but raised and organized an army sufficiently formidable to march to the borders against the royal standard.

At this crisis, it became of great importance to crush the efforts of Huntly in the north before the King's forces reached Scotland, as a vigorous diversion occasioned by the royalists in that quarter, would be more than the Covenanters could well cope with in addition to invasion by land and sea. But the same

[1] Colonel Alexander Hamilton, mentioned before, p. 152.

evil genius of Charles, who infused the materials of certain failure into the royal expedition, took effectual measures to prevent the efficiency of the nobleman he had himself recommended to the lieutenancy of the north. And, if we may trust the record of a contemporary clergyman, it was not merely by withholding from Huntly the means to act with vigour that Hamilton insured his discomfiture. He is said actually to have written a secret letter to the Covenanters, which he contrived to convey to them concealed within a pistol, and "*which private advice was to curb their northern enemies, or to expect no quarter from the King.*"

Montrose was now formally invested with the title of General commanding in chief for the Covenanters, in this their first decidedly hostile expedition. He was followed by the cavalry of the Mearns, Angus, and part of Perthshire, and other districts to the north of the river Forth. Levies of foot were also drawn from those counties, trained, regimented, and put under experienced officers, summoned from abroad for that purpose, and placed at the command of Montrose. His whole force, according to the estimate by James Gordon, did not at first exceed two thousand horse and foot. The anxiety of the faction for the success of this expedition is evinced by the fact, that, in the quality of his *Adjutant*, and instead of the three apostles, there was added to his councils no less a personage than "Felt Marshall Leslie, his Excellence, inferior to none but to the King of Sweden." Huntly was well aware of this gathering storm, but all the aid and encouragement he received from Hamilton were instructions to gain delays, and risk no blood; and though surrounded by gallant hearts like his own, continually urging him to vigorous hostilities, the nobleman who had distinguished himself in fairer fields of chivalry than the kirk-militant was likely to produce, was compelled to plead his positive orders from the King, in opposition to the manifest interests of the royal cause. Under these circumstances, Huntly thought himself compelled to treat. And here the contemporary account we have so frequently quoted acquires additional authenticity

[1] This anecdote rests on the authority of the parson of Rothiemay. It is curious to compare it with those separate and distinct anecdotes of Hamilton's double-dealing, narrated by Hamond L'Estrange, and Bishop Guthrie.—See before, p. 95.

and interest, from the fact, that the writer of it, James Gordon, accompanied his father, Robert Gordon of Straloch, who was one of the commissioners employed in these negotiations.

In the month of March 1639 Montrose arrived at his own house of Old Montrose, to prepare for his expedition. At this time various negotiations passed between him and Huntly, who was at Aberdeen. These were conducted by Gordon of Straloch, and other learned and remarkable loyalists, most anxious to preserve the peace of the realm. Suddenly, however, and while these negotiations were in train, the campaign was rendered easy for the General of the Covenant, by the unexpected retreat of the royal Lieutenant. It appears to have been in strict compliance with his orders from Hamilton, that, to the disappointment and disgust of many of his gallant followers, Huntly dismissed a portion of his army, and retired to his own house of Strathbogie, where he took up a defensive position with the forces he retained about his person.[1] This retreat enabled the northern Covenanters, with the Lord Frazer and the Master of Forbes at their head, to march without molestation to Aberdeen, there to join Montrose, who entered it, "with a *veni, vidi, vici*," on Saturday 30th March 1639.[2] By his side there appeared the veteran of many a desperate field in the land of battles. Well had Rothes catered for rebellion, when he "took hold" of Alexander Leslie. Montrose was instructed to give implicit attention to the advice of this experienced leader, and to consider him as his military tutor. Even the lofty and imperious Montrose submitted, it seems, to this arrangement. "We were feared," says Baillie, in his happiest manner, "that emulation among our nobles might have done harm when they should be met in the field; but such was the wisdom and authority of that *old, little, crooked soldier*, that all, with an incredible submission from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by

[1] "The reason why Huntly laid down his arms, and at this time entered into capitulations, was that, some time before this, he received by * * * Leslie, brother to the Lord Lindores, express orders from the Marquis of Hamilton, (from whom, by particular mandate from the King, he was to receive his Majesty's orders,) shewing him that it imported for the King's service not to enter in blood, by fighting against the Covenanters."—*William Gordon's Hist. of the family of Gordon*, p. 268.

[2] Not on Palm Sunday, as Spalding erroneously has it.—See Aberdeen Council Register.

him, as if he had been great Solyman. Certainly, the obedience of our noblemen to that man's advice was as great as their forbeers (forefathers) wont to be to their King's command; yet that was the man's understanding of our Scots humours, that gave out, not only to the nobles, but to very mean gentlemen, his directions in a very homely and simple form, as if they had been but the advices of their neighbour and companion." And this crooked familiar, who now so ominously graced Montrose's side, was he who had been greatly honoured by Gustavus Adolphus, his instructor in battle. But Leslie degraded himself too long under the leafless banner of the Covenant, and even learnt to run away too soon; for this same little old fighting Mentor was in full flight, at the head of "all his cavallirie," from the battle of Marston-moor, some twenty miles homewards, when overtaken by the news that the day was their own.

Again disappointed of battle, our hero consoled himself with the triumph of a military parade. Huntly had a family of ten children, some of them very young, and all loyal to the last and smallest joint. These had announced their determination to support the Throne, by mounting in their hats and caps a ribbon of a bright red colour, which they denominated "the royal ribbon." The grave Mentor of the young Covenanting commander was no ways disposed to regard this playful demonstration of loyalty as worthy of antagonism. Montrose, however, who throughout his career in arms, displayed an intuitive knowledge of the best modes, in all emergencies, of enlisting the sympathies, and gaining the affections of his followers, made the most of this apparently trifling incident. He decorated every man of his host with a blue ribbon, and dubbed it "the Covenanter's ribbon!" He now commanded an organized array in arms, of six thousand foot and horse. "Few or none of this whole army," says Spalding, "wanted (were without) a blue ribbon hung about his craig (neck) down under his left arm, which they called the Covenanter's ribbon." The parson of Rothiemay also notices the incident and with some touch of contempt, which may be forgiven in respect of the characteristic glimpse it affords of our hero, whose real triumphs were yet to come. "At this time, likewise, the Covenanters began to wear and take for their colours blue ribbons, which they carried

about them scarfways, or as some orders of knighthood wear their ribbons. *This was Montrose's whimsie.* To these ribbons, ordinarly, the cavalry did append their spanners for their firelocks, and the foot had them stuck up in bunches in their blue caps; which device seemed so plausible that, when the army marched towards the border some short time afterwards, many of the gentry threw away their hats, and would carry nothing but bonnets, and bunches of blue ribbons, or *pannashes*, therein; despight the English, who disdainfully called them *blue-caps*, and *jockies*."

Thus has "the whimsies" of Montrose rendered the blue bonnet, and "bunch of blue ribbons," famous in story and in song. And many a loyal and gallant heart has beat high to the strain of "blue bonnets over the border," without knowing why or wherefore.

The flight of Huntly changed the progress of Montrose into a military fête. He marched down Dee side, at the head of a well appointed army of horse and foot, colours flying, trumpets blowing, drums beating, displaying, in short, the enthusiasm of unfleshed troops, who had been just assured of victory without a blow. With all the pomp and circumstance of war, they marched into the good town of Aberdeen, at ten in the morning of Saturday, the 30th of March 1639. They entered at the Over-Kirkgate Port, and so marched down through the Broadgate, the Castlegate, and the Justice Port, until they reached the Queen's Links. They carried with them a plentiful supply of provisions of their own, and not more heartily and luxuriously at the pic-nics of *Drumfad*,[1] did our hero enjoy himself, than now upon the links of Aberdeen, in his new capacity of a triumphant commander. He was surrounded by a distinguished staff, armed like himself to the teeth, and clad in buff coats and embroidered baldrics, to which was added the conspicuous *whimsey* of the blue ribbon. Here this imposing array, at the lowest computation six thousand strong, were mustered; and the first order issued by the General, instead of being that for which the Covenanting preachers incessantly longed—"burn the town of Aberdeen"—was one more congenial to his own disposition, and the present humour of his followers—"Go to

[1] See before, p. 53.

breakfast." But we must give it in the graphic words of Spalding:—"Muster being made, all men were commanded by sound of trumpet, in General Montrose's name, *to go to breakfast*, either in the links, or in the town. The General himself, the nobles, captains and commanders, for the most part, sat down on the links; and, of *their own provision*, with a *servitt* (napkin) on their knee, took breakfast."

The natives of Aberdeen were enabled to enjoy this social yet alarming sight, with little mixture of terror, owing to a humane message transmitted by our hero to the authorities on the previous day, and which we find thus duly recorded of its date, 29th March, in the Aberdeen Town Council records:—"The Earl of Montrose did express, that his intended voyage to Aberdeen is only for performing the appointment of the late General Assembly, according as it hath been done in other places, and in no way to do the smallest wrong or injury to any (as perhaps is supposed), nor use the meanest violence, except in so far as his Lordship and his Lordship's followers shall be necessitated for their own safety, and their cause. In respect of the which diligence, used by the magistrates and council in directing commissioners to the said Earl of Montrose, and of the said Earl his answer foresaid, given to the saids commissioners, the town declared that they are content to receive the noblemen and their followers, and to harbour them after the most commodious manner they can; and desires the magistrates to give order, each bailie through his own quarter, for that effect, and for furnishing competent lodgings unto them, such as the town can afford."[1]

Montrose at this *dejeunè*, probably even more hilarious than his breakfasts and suppers with the gold tufts of *Alma Mater*, was surrounded by many wrong-headed nobles, and barons of note, from the counties in which his influence prevailed. By his side, napkin on knee, sat the little crooked old mercenary of an hundred fights, his illustrious Adjutant, Field Marshal Leslie, his Excellency! With these were, the Earl Marischal, the

[1] According to the Aberdeen Town Council records of the date, the numbers mustered by Montrose on the links were about six thousand. The contemporary chroniclers rate the numbers much higher; but there were accessions to the army, at the time, from different quarters.

Earl of Kinghorn (a college companion), Lord Elcho (whom he routed at the battle of Perth), Lord Erskine, Lord Frazer, the Master of Forbes, and Lord Carnegie, his brother-in-law, whom he had endeavoured to unseat in the Assembly, but whom he appears to have won over to his present disloyal position. The advent of this host was the signal for the loyal and the learned of Aberdeen to quit. The days of disputation were over. There was no disputing with the master of two legions; who, moreover, brought in his train fourteen pieces of cannon, "dear Sandie's stoups," to batter Aberdeen, if she remained obstinate, out of all reason, learning, and logic. "Strange ingredients," says the parson of Rothiemay, "for the visitation of an university."

Having breakfasted in this conspicuous but harmless fashion, the young General reviewed his troops, and all whom he found inefficient were immediately dismissed. His next employment of this busy day, was to summon before him the magistrates of Aberdeen, whom he lectured on the propriety of their being hospitable to his soldiers, strict orders, he said, having been given to them, to pay for all they consumed, but that they on the other hand, were not to be subjected to extortion; an order which those for whom he thus equitably provided, would doubtless interpret practically to their own best advantage. Moreover, according to the evidence of the Town Council records, "He charged them to cast in and fill up our trenches, in all possible diligence, and to enter to work for that effect on Monday next, and to continue thereat till all the trenches were filled up again, under the pain of plundering and razing our town, which was accordingly obeyed."

Contrary to the expectations of all, the Commander-in-chief, on the evening of the very same day that he breakfasted so conspicuously in the links, ordered the main body of his army forward, without again entering the town.[1] Ere starting on this march, however, he invested the Earl of Kinghorn with the title of Governor of Aberdeen, leaving him in military possession, with 1500 of his troops, by way of body-guard and garrison. Montrose that night encamped at Inverury, ten miles

[1] The precise date is ascertained from the Aberdeen Records, and from Spalding. Montrose proceeded onwards that same evening, because next day was Sunday.

to the north of Aberdeen, many of the soldiers being billetted round the camp on free quarters, relaxation from which was only to be purchased at the price of signing the oft paraded record of the spontaneous, "grand national movement."

Spalding's lament, over the state of his beloved town, at this crisis, is pathetic. He says, that the noble burgh of Aberdeen, being "daily deaved" with the news of the coming of an army, and their own Marquis having dissolved his host at Inverury, and apparently deserted them in the hour of need, and no help arriving from the King, they began to be heartless and comfortless, and entirely to despair, not knowing what course to take. Hitherto there had been brave musterings and drillings, casting of trenches, watches and catbands in the streets, pieces of ordnance in the causeways, and fortifications in every direction; moreover, every man carried at least a sword by his side. But when Huntly seemed to desert them, they held mournful consultations together, and agreed, that, as all seemed lost, they should cast their weapons away, forbear all their warlike preparations, and open wide their gates to the approaching Covenanters. Then every man, forgetting his community, began to shift for himself. Some removed their goods, and some fled with their families from the town. Amongst others, there fled by sea about sixty of the bravest men and youths of Aberdeen, well armed with sword, musket, and bandilier. They took one of the town's colours, and John Poak, their drummer, with them, and resolve to go to the King. And with them were the ever loyal lairds of Drum, Pitfoddels, Foverane, Balgouny, and the intellectually victorious Doctors, all "upon the 28th of March, 1639, hoist up sail, and to the King go they." Then to the forlorn pulpits of those excellent divines—who had read, "most exactly," the writings of the ancient fathers in their own language, led their flocks to quiet waters, and "fed them with wholesome food brought from the Scriptures, and the practice of the primitive Christians"—there rushed the trash of "the Tables,"—the comfortless, half-crazy trumpeters of the Covenant,—the illiterate and the intolerant, the fanatical, the malevolent, and the ferocious, to howl and hammer out uncouth sedition to the terrified and bewildered people. "There they cry victory! and begin to sing a song to the townsmen of a far

other tune than they had learned from their own ministers and doctors, crying down that doctrine which the town's doctors, they knew, were not now in equal terms with them to maintain any more, without affronts to their persons."[1]

Meanwhile Huntly had retired to the Bog of Gicht (Gordon Castle); and, anxious to relieve the north from the oppressive visitation of the covenanting army, he wrote to Gordon of Straloch, once more to become a mediator between them. This gentleman immediately proceeded to the quarters of Montrose, whom he found disposed to treat; and the result was that he and Huntly, each accompanied by eleven of their friends, met a few days afterwards, in the vicinity of the Covenanters' camp. Lords Oliphant and Aboyne accompanied Huntly, Lords Elcho and Couper, Montrose. They were armed only with walking-swords, but such was the mutual jealousy or formality of the meeting, that a gentleman from either party was appointed to search the other, for fear of hidden arms. The two chiefs then saluted each other with becoming dignity, and, after interchanging some expressions of courtesy, stepped aside and held together a long conversation, of which the rest were merely spectators. Huntly's friends were somewhat offended at the privacy of the conference, and James Gordon adds, that he never could learn what were the particulars of this personal dialogue between the leaders. The result was quite unlooked for. After a few hours thus occupied, Huntly mounted his horse, and, without reason assigned, rode forward with Montrose and his friends to the leaguer at Inverury, where he and his astonished companions, among whom was Straloch, were entertained with great respect and forbearance. The chief of the Gordons there signed a paper, the precise terms of which are not known, but which seems to have been some qualified version of one or other of the Covenants, amounting to no more

[1] James Gordon, who adds—"All their success was imputed to the goodness of the cause, to which God began to shew himself so favourable, that their enemies had fled, whilst none pursued them; and that now the curse was alighting upon Meroz (so they termed Aberdeen in their sermons), which came not to help the Lord against the mighty! There was a minister at that time, who did ascribe the fairness of the three last days of March, commonly called borrowing days, that time, to a miracle, in a sermon preached before many witnesses." See also Gordon's History of the Family of Gordon.

than a declaration in favour of the national Religion, and Liberties,—probably something similar to what Montrose had been satisfied with, on his previous reforming expedition, from Dr Guild and others at Aberdeen.

Our hero being no party to the covert designs of the faction, was but a blundering performer when left to his own devices in furthering the cause. He was not only willing to accept of very equivocal converts, but, totally forgetting the importance of the *Magna Charta* of his party, he now attempted to make Covenanters of *Papists*, by the ingenious device of waiving the Covenant itself,—as the Play of Hamlet was modified by the itinerant manager. This ought to redeem him in the eyes of the historian, whose objection to the Covenant is, that it did not *sympathize* with *Papists*.[1] The anecdote is only to be found in the manuscript of James Gordon, by whom it is thus narrated and authenticated :—

"Huntly, (besides consenting to oblige himself to maintain the King's authority, together with the liberties both of Church and State, of Religion and Laws,) likewise purchased some assurance to his friends and followers. They were of several predicaments. Some of them were landed gentlemen of his name, or his associates, but not his vassals,—others were his own followers and tenants, and amongst these, some were Protestants and others Papists. Assurance was given for all of them in the general that they should not be harmed, nor any thing that belonged to them, they carrying themselves peaceably, and such of them as would subscribe the Covenant, as they were invited to it, so they were content to let them advise upon it, and not to be hasty with them ; and Huntly was content to restrain none who were willing to take the oath of covenant. The difficulty only remained for *such as were Papists*, and so not like to subscribe the Covenant, how they should be secured ; as also what assurance might be expected from them. To this purpose there was a midds fallen upon with all such, that they should be *taken under protection*, they subscribing a declaration of their willingness to concur with the Covenanters in maintaining the Laws and Liberties of the kingdom; and, that the Papists might be encouraged into the subsigning of such an obligation

[1] Mr Brodie. See before, p. 142.

and bond, there was a declaration emitted *by Montrose* to that purpose, signed by such noblemen as were present with him at that time at Inverury, and by Huntly amongst the rest. The *principal copy of that declaration having fallen into my hands some short time thereafter*,[1] and being as yet by me, I have set it down word for word, it being but very short, and it is as follows :— 'For as meikle as those who by profession are of a contrary religion, and therefore *cannot condescend to the subscribing of the Covenant*, yet are willing to concur with us in the common course of maintaining the laws and liberties of the kingdom, these are therefore requiring that none of those who, being Papists by profession, and willing to subscribe the bond of maintenance of the laws and liberties foresaid, shall be in any ways molested in their goods or means, nor sustain any prejudice more than those who have subscribed the Covenant.' (Signed) 'HUNTLY, MONTROSE, KINGHORN, ERSKINE, COUPER.'"

This proves that Montrose was imbued with no bigoted or fanatical feelings with regard to the Covenant itself, and is consistent with the fact, that, when he considered the liberties of the country no longer in danger from the King's advisers, he refused to follow any further the covenanting movement.

When Huntly arrived at Inverury, he there perceived many of his own private and personal enemies, among the Forbeses and Frazers, and immediately became sensible that every attempt would be made on their part to induce Montrose to regard him more unfavourably than he had hitherto done, and perhaps to detain him prisoner. Too proud to enter into conversation himself on the subject, he commissioned his friend Straloch to tell the Earl to be on his guard against the prejudiced counsels he would receive from these individuals, against the King's lieutenant. Gordon accordingly watched his opportunity, and, finding Montrose alone in his tent, discharged himself of his confidential mission, and told him that if an attempt were made to take Huntly south with them as a prisoner, the country would not so quietly submit to the outrage as his enemies imagined. Montrose replied, that very probably these people bore Huntly no good will, and that, indeed, he knew as much

[1] No doubt in consequence of his father, Gordon of Straloch, having been one of Huntly's companions on that occasion.

from themselves; but, for his own part, that he was willing to do for him all the good offices he could, and would fail in no promise. "Only," added Montrose, "there is this difficulty, that business here is all transacted *by vote* and a *committee*, nor can I get any thing done of myself."—"You have done so much by yourself already," rejoined Straloch, "why not the whole? If you be so inclined, of which I make no doubt, then being General here, and the principal person upon this expedition, when you stand to your point Huntly's enemies must yield." To which Montrose answered, "I shall do my utmost for Huntly's satisfaction,"—and with this answer, says James Gordon, who narrates the above, his father was dismissed; nor, he adds, did Montrose "fail of the performance of his promise; for that night, after Huntly had subscribed the paper agreed upon, Montrose was content that he should return peaceably to his own house, which he did accordingly, not without the great miscontent of those who would have had him detained."[1]

Having thus discussed Huntly, Montrose broke up his camp at Inverury, and marched back to Aberdeen. On the march twelve Highlanders, some of Argyle's "uncanny trewsmen," came to Montrose with this message from their master, that he had ordered a regiment, five hundred strong, of his own men, fully equipped in the Highland fashion, to offer their dutiful services. Our hero, who probably wished Argyle's Highlanders any where but with him, returned a courteous answer, and issued orders for this accession of force not to enter Aberdeen, which was sufficiently burdened already, but to take up their quarters upon the rich lands of the Lairds of Drum and Pitfoddels, a mode of making a campaign pay itself, which "Felt Marshal Leslie, his Excellence," had learnt from the King of Sweden, and now taught them in Scotland. Accordingly, says Spalding, "the gentlemen returned to their Highland company with those directions, which they *took in good part*, and lived *royally* upon

[1] I have adopted this circumstantial account by James Gordon, whose father was one of the party. Spalding says, that the meeting at Lowess occupied two days, the 4th and 5th April; that on the evening of the 4th, Huntly slept at Pitcaple, and Montrose returned to the camp; and that, after parting on the second day, Huntly went not near the camp, but straight to Strathbogie. Bishop Guthrie gives a very meagre notice of the incident, in which he appears to have been misinformed, and prejudiced against Huntly.

the goods, nolt, sheep, corns, and victual of the ground above-specified, to the great hurt and wreck of the country people, for their master's cause, being great anti-covenanters."

On the 9th of April, Montrose was joined at Aberdeen by the Earls of Murray and Seaforth, the Master of Lovat, and others, with about three hundred horse, well armed, to offer their assistance in the field, or in council. Accordingly, about this time, a grand conclave, or committee, was held for some days, in which the state of the north, and the position in which the Marquis of Huntly had just been placed, was eagerly discussed. It appears that his enemies were not satisfied with the manner in which he had been treated by Montrose; and the declaration of the latter to Straloch, that he had no control over the councils of his affairs, and was overborne in committee, now became verified. Huntly being again requested to meet the Covenanters, reluctantly complied, upon receiving assurance from Montrose, and the other leaders, that he would not be detained prisoner. No sooner had he arrived, however, than the Forbeses and Frazers, and more especially Crichton of Frendraught, his sworn foe, began to urge his detention in the most vehement manner, and the result was very discreditable to the party that effected it. Various obligations and new terms were attempted to be imposed upon Huntly, who indignantly demanded that the bond of maintenance he had signed at Inverury should, in the first instance, be returned. The paper being immediately delivered to him he then asked, "Whether will ye take me south with you as a captive, or shall I go voluntarily?" Montrose promptly answered, "Make your choice." "Then," said the other, "I will not go as a captive, but as a volunteer." Menteith, whose History of the Troubles was written in French, and printed at Paris in the year 1661, states positively, that when Huntly made his appearance, under promise of safety, at Aberdeen, "immediately they commenced to solicit Montrose not to suffer him to remain in his own country, whatever promise he had made him to the contrary, and although Montrose opposed them to his utmost (*s'opposast de tout son pouuoir*) to prevent their breaking the parole that had been given, nevertheless his single authority being insufficient to prevent it, Huntly and his eldest son were carried prisoners to the Castle

of Edinburgh, from whence they were not liberated till the peace of Berwick." Both Wishart and Guthrie exonerate Montrose, but are neither precise nor accurate in the few details they afford, in which they appear too much prejudiced against Huntly. From all the accounts, however, it is obvious that this discreditable proceeding was not the policy of Montrose, and had been carried into execution contrary to his remonstrance and plans. Indeed, when acting for himself, he had actually dismissed Huntly upon the most favourable terms.[1] The whole conduct of Montrose upon this occasion was tempered with generosity and forbearance, contrary not only to the wishes and conduct of the chiefs who accompanied him, and controlled his actions, but to the expectations and instructions of the Tables, and even of some of the most temperate of the covenanting clergy. That such an army as he commanded, in those rude and excited times, should have riotously and wastefully luxuriated in their free quarters, upon the estates of the loyalists, seems but the inevitable consequence of such an expedition. But it is worthy of remark, that both Spalding and James Gordon, partisans of Huntly, so far from imputing unnecessary severities to Montrose, bear testimony to his generous forbearance under very difficult circumstances. When, for instance, he learnt that Argyle's five hundred volunteers, whom he had quartered in the country for the sake of the town, were oppressing the lands of Drum and Pitfoddels, he commanded them to march to Aberdeen. They entered accordingly, on Thursday, 10th of April 1639, in order of battle, their bagpipes

[1] Huntly, in his spirited reply to the noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers who, on the part of the Covenanters, gave him the option of joining them, or being confined in Edinburgh Castle, notices thus generally the manner in which he had been entrapped :—" To be your prisoner is by much the less displeasing to me that my accusation is for nothing else but loyalty, and that I have been brought into this estate *by such unfair means*, as can never be made appear honourable in those who used them." And after scorning the terms offered him, concludes :—" For my own part, I am in your power, and resolve not to leave that foul title of traitor as an inheritance to my posterity. *You may take my head from my shoulders, but not my heart from my Sovereign.*" This reply is dated 20th of April 1639, the day Huntly was sent to the Castle, and was printed in London in the following year. That Lord Gordon ere long became passionately attached to Montrose, and died fighting at his side, is a fact which confirms the contemporary accounts which exonerate Montrose from this base treachery.

sending forth the ever unwelcome intelligence that the Campbells were coming. Montrose reviewed them with great ceremony at the cross of Aberdeen, and then dismissed them to the lodgings which had been prepared for them, with peremptory orders as to their peaceable demeanour. And so completely had he brought these dreaded claymores under some degree of discipline, that the town of Aberdeen, which had expected nothing less at their hands than fire and sword, presented them with five hundred merks in money, when they marched out with Montrose's foot army. This was a compliment to Montrose, not to Argyle. For their chief was never with them when battle even lowered; and never stayed them from the extremities of violence and oppression, when he had no enemy to fear. Accordingly, his own covenanting friend Baillie, characterises those Highlanders as his "uncannie trewsmen;" and adds,—"It was thought the country of England was more afraid for the barbarity of his Highlanders than of any other terror: those of the English that came to visit our camp, did gaze much with admiration upon these supple fellows, with their plaids, targes, and dorlochs: there was some companies of them under Captain Buchanan, and others in Erskine's regiment." But Argyle was in some safer place.

Baillie, purblind as to the paralyzing counsels and control of Hamilton, directly accuses Huntly of cowardice. Some of his energy had by this time departed from him, or probably he would not have succumbed to the instructions of the minion. But he had led the Archer Guard of France in fields from which the chief of the Campbells would have shrunk in terror. That Aberdeen was taken at this time, Baillie attributes solely to the pusillanimity of the King's lieutenant in the north; that it was not sacked and ruined, to the ill-judged humanity of the Covenanting General Montrose! "Aberdeen," he says, "at once trembles: Huntly, *in a cowardice fear*, leaves them: their Bishops, Doctors, and most malicious of their burgesses, ship for England: the rest send to parly, but are refused:[1] so in great fray are forced to render without condition: the *discretion* of that *gene-*

[1] The *parly* was *not* refused, as is proved by the Town Council Records, and other contemporary chroniclers.

rous and noble youth (Montrose) was but *too great:* a great sum was named as a fine to that unnatural city, but all was forgiven." And referring to the abuse of free quarters on the lands of Drum and Pitfoddels, the same clerical partizan adds:—" This was much cried out upon by our enemies, as cruel and barbarous plunderings; but a little time did try that we had been *too great fools* not to disarm that country altogether, and *use some severity* for example among them: at that time they had no reason for complaining, but greatly to commend, as they did in words our laeder's courtesy."

In this his first great escapade for the faction, he violated, indeed, with little hesitation, the consciences of peaceable lieges. But he scorned to execute his commission from the Tables, with the severity and cruelty which their clergy desiderated and enjoined, and so at once he lost cast with them for ever. This shall be amply verified. But we must be content to adhere more closely to his personal adventures. The limits of biography afford no space for controversial history; or for exposing at every turn, with the necessary proofs, the enormities of those disjointed and often falsely recorded times. Montrose is now in his twenty-seventh year,—" the flower and bravery of his youth." His real destiny has not dawned. Yet he has but eleven years of life before him; and we have to follow him in an hundred fights, and through the rapidly dissolving views of a chequered and crowded existence that beggars romance.

> " Just so romances are! for what else
> Is in them all, but *love* and *battles?*
> O' th' first of these we've no great matter
> To treat of,—but *a world o' th' latter.*"

CHAPTER XII.

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS WHICH ENABLED MONTROSE TO CRUSH THE LOYALTY OF THE NORTH, AND FIGHT HIS ONLY BATTLE FOR THE COVENANT—HAMILTON ARRIVES IN THE FORTH WITH A FLEET AND INVADING ARMY—HIS DUPLICITY DETECTED BY A COMPARISON OF HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE KING, AND HIS CONDUCT OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND—HIS TREACHERY TO THE KING AND ABOYNE—THE BARONS' REIGN—MONTROSE RETURNS WITH HIS FORCES TO THE NORTH—SCATTERS THE BARONS, AND BESIEGES THEIR HOUSES—HIS COLLISION WITH ABOYNE—TRAITOR GUN—BATTLE OF THE BRIDGE OF DEE—MONTROSE TAKES ABERDEEN—DECLINES TO OBEY THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE TABLES TO DESTROY THE TOWN—THE PACIFICATION OF BERWICK—TRAITOR GUN—MAJOR MIDDLETON.

WE have now arrived at that period of Montrose's career, when his military capacities came to be more decidedly tested. The part hitherto assigned to him had been successfully performed; and certainly with less injury to his character than might have been expected, considering the nature of the missions, and who employed him. Military dictation and pageantry, however, was all that as yet had signalised his profession of arms. The adventure of lodging the Marquis of Huntly in the castle of Edinburgh, was a most important result for the covenanting faction. But it had been accomplished *arte*, not *marte*. The event threw the loyalists of the north into a state of great excitement, and carved out immediate work for our hero of another description. The capture of their chief had cast the Gordons, and their great following, all abroad, in a stinging humour like a dethroned hive; and, but for the drag upon the wheels of their exasperated loyalty, so treacherously imposed by Hamilton, their efforts would not have been in vain, and might, indeed, have changed the whole aspect of the King's affairs. The circumstances which enabled Montrose to gain his only serious battle as a rebel commander, must now be shortly narrated.

On or about the 19th of April 1639, only eleven years before his martyrdom in a better cause, he returned to Edinburgh with his noble captives, and his somewhat equivocal laurels. Lord Gordon had desired to accompany his father. The second son, Viscount Aboyne, a youth between eighteen and nineteen years of age, had been permitted to return home from the army in Aberdeen, upon the plea of procuring money and other necessaries for his kidnapped parent. But the young Viscount was detained in his own country by Ogilvy of Banff, and other warlike barons there, upon the obvious consideration that the House of Huntly should not be left without a representative, nor the royalists without a standard. Their only other hope was in a still younger scion, Lord Lewis Gordon, gallant enough in all conscience, but a mere schoolboy, and of so wild a disposition, that upon one occasion he had stolen the family jewels, and made off to Holland.

Meanwhile Hamilton's confidential suggestions to the King, in the letter we have already quoted,[1] framed so as to be certain of adoption, had been brought to a practical issue. This ruinous minister was appointed to command an expedition against Scotland by sea, while the King himself marched to the borders. On the 1st of May 1639, he arrived in the Firth of Forth, with an armament of nineteen sail, having on board five thousand soldiers, various munitions of war, and an extravagant supply of money, which he never failed to extract from his master's impoverished Exchequer. "Hamilton," says Sir Philip Warwick, "must be a distinct General, both by sea and land, and with a good fleet must block up the Scotch seas; and, *to my knowledge*, he promised so to visit his countrymen on their coasts, as that they should find little ease or security." Excellent as is the testimony of this most honest servant of the King, we are not now dependent upon it for the fact. Time (not Bishop Burnet) has disclosed to us, from the Hamilton archives, among which the important missive had safely found its way back, the very letter which pleaded for and obtained that command. We have already more than once quoted some of its emphatic expressions;[2] but they require to be remembered, in order that

[1] See before, p. 171, *note*. [2] See before, p. 99.

we may fully appreciate the character of the writer, and understand how just was the estimate formed of Hamilton by Montrose, when, a few years afterwards, he impeached him to the King, and also denounced him to the public, as "James Marquis of Hamilton, the prime fomenter of these misunderstandings betwixt the King and his subjects."

In that letter, the date of which is 27th November 1638, first he tells the King,—"I have missed my end, in not being able to make your Majesty so considerable a party as will be able to *curb the insolency of this rebellious nation* without assistance from England, and greater charge to your Majesty than this *miserable country* is worth." In another part of the same letter, however, he adds,—"To make them *miserable*, and bring them again to a dutiful obedience, *I am confident* your Majesty will not find a work of long time, nor of great difficulty, as they have foolishly fancied to themselves." He next proceeds to expound a systematic scheme for reducing the rebels in Scotland. He declares the strength of the nation to consist in its burghs; and that its existence depends upon trade in the eastern seas, and to Holland. Stop their trade, he says, and guard well your frontiers. Then,—"In my opinion, your ships would be best ordered thus: Eight or ten to be in the Firth of Forth: There should be some three or four plying to and again betwixt the Firth and *Aberdeen*, so long as the season of the year will permit them to keep the seas; and when they are not longer able, they may retire into the Firth, in which there are several places in which they may ride in all weathers: Those ships that lie in the Irish seas will be sufficient to bar all trade from the west of Scotland: The fitting places are between Arran and the coast of Galloway: When the weather is foul, there is an excellent road in Galloway, called Lochryan, and another in Arran called Lamlash, or the Holy Island, where they may ride in safety."

This discipline, however, he says, will "so irritate them," as greatly to endanger all in Scotland who stand for the King; which danger he proposes to meet by making head in the north, under Huntly, commissioned as his Majesty's Lieutenant there, "with full power *to him to raise* such and so many men as he shall think convenient for the defence of the country." But then he takes care to add,—"As for the Marquis of Huntly,

certainly he may be trusted by you; but whether fitly or no *I cannot say*." Now Huntly was waiting in person upon Hamilton, in Edinburgh, at the very time, and so little encouraged by him, and so coldly received, that the arch agitator, Rothes, writes in great glee to his cousin, Patrick Leslie in Aberdeen, that the Marquis of Huntly "was but *slighted* by the Commissioner, and *not of his privy-council*."

Then follows his anxious bespeaking for himself the chief command of this invasion of Scotland; mingled too with those execrations against his native country that were obviously intended to weigh in the King's mind against the public impeachment, from which the favourite was never cleared, for having encouraged, or winked at a design in his own favour upon the Crown of Scotland. Appoint *me*, he says, to conduct this military subjugation of Scotland, and I shall not weary till all be right: "And *then*," he adds, "I will *forswear this country*—next *Hell* I hate this place. I have now only this one suit to your Majesty, that my sons, if they live, be bred in England—I wish my daughters be never married in Scotland."

Why was the King's pocket not picked of this letter, as it was of unexceptionable missives of loyalty from Montrose, by the hands of Hamilton's covenanting tools? This *anathema maranatha* never reached the ears of the Covenanters. Like many other such valuable sources of the real truth of times past, it has never entered the broad web of constitutional history, the grand march of philosophy teaching by examples. When the Hamilton papers came, for a private and petty purpose, between the oily palms of the prosperous Burnet, down went the whole breadth of the episcopal thumb upon the contents of that voluminous and telling report. It is melancholy to compare the details of it with the contemporaneous correspondence of Baillie. When the Marquis arrived with his formidable flotilla in the Forth, the general alarm and excitement became intense. But the busy chronicler of the covenant—who, by the way, was now in fighting trim himself, and armed to the teeth[2]—point-

[1] See before, pp. 148, 169.

[2] "I furnished to half-a-dozen good fellows, muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broad sword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but, I promise you, for the offence of no man, except a robber

edly records his own belief, that Hamilton had predetermined to serve his *beloved* native country rather than his master. Baillie declares that the invader was by many regarded as "yet a lover of his country—that the employment was *thrust upon* him—that he had accepted it with a *resolution* to manage it for our *greatest advantage* that loyalty to his prince would permit him." How did he evince that loyalty now? "It was *evident*," adds Baillie, "he eschewed all occasion of beginning the war; he did not trouble a man on shore with a shot." Nor woman either, our chronicler might have added; for, as another contemporary records, "Hamilton's own mother came riding towards Leith, at the head of some armed troops, with two case pistols at her saddle, protesting, as is affirmed, that she would kill her son with her own hand, if he should offer to come a-land, in a hostile way."[1]

We have next to compare all this with his actual conduct at this important crisis, to the house and following of Huntly, whose commission of lieutenancy he himself had proposed, and was pledged to strengthen and support. For this very purpose he had troops, and all the sinews of war on board the fleet. Nor, as his own correspondence with the King proves, could he pretend ignorance of the condition of the north, or of the best

in the way; for it was our part, alone, to pray and preach to the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power most cheerfully."—*Baillie to Spang*, September 28, 1639; a most amusing and instructive report.

[1] James Gordon's History of Scots affairs. See before, p. 100. Sir Philip Warwick also says: "When Hamilton anchored in the Firth, his mother, a violent spirited lady, and a deep presbytress, comes on board him, and surely she had *no hard task* to charm him." And William Spang, in his *Historia Motuum*, compiled from his correspondence with Baillie, glorifies her, as "*Illustrissima heroina Hamiltonia Marchionissa*," whose masculine mind, he adds, superior to her sex, greatly influenced her son in vindicating the religion and liberty of their country. But *Illustrissima Trulla* would most assuredly have cuffed her son's ears, had she read his denunciation of Scotland to the King, ending with these words,—"I wish *my daughters* be never married in Scotland." By the way, in reference to this last, it may be mentioned, that, among the Hamilton papers (not noticed by Burnet) there is yet preserved certain articles of marriage, between Hamilton on the part of his eldest daughter Lady Ann, and *Argyle*, on the part of his eldest son Lord Lorn, when they should come of age: The portion is an hundred thousand marks; the jointure, fifteen thousand marks; and the penalty for resiling from the contract, thirty thousand marks. This political compact (for such between these two worthies at this date, 1642, it could not fail to be) was never accomplished, whoever paid forfeit.

mode of applying his warlike resources. Moreover, he was in possession of a most effective scheme for the campaign, which had been transmitted to him by the King, and was obviously derived from a well informed and judicious source in Scotland. And, in the letter inclosing it, dated 8th May 1639, his Majesty tells him,—"Upon the whole matter I give you my opinion, that if you find it not fit to land all your five thousand men upon Lothian side, then it may be counsellable to send most of your land-men to the north, *to strengthen my party there.*"

To neither counsel would Hamilton, whose own furious prompting had brought matters to this pass, pay the slightest heed, now that he had the command in his own hands. Anchored between Inchkeith and Inchcolm, in the spot where the ferry boats were continually plying from the shore, he allowed his troops to stretch their limbs upon those little rocky isles, while he received deputations, composed of the disaffected nobles and prime covenanters, and the virago commands of his mother. Meanwhile another earnest pressure came upon him, to support Huntly with troops, in consequence of young Aboyne having reached the King at Newcastle not many days after Hamilton had anchored in the Frith. This step the Viscount had adopted by advice of the northern barons. These, whenever they had got quit of Montrose, formed among themselves an armed association, to make head against the Forbeses, Frazers, and Crichtons, to whom had been consigned the charge of reformation in the north, with the promise of aid should they require it. While the King was corresponding with Hamilton on the very subject, as his letter of the 8th of May shows, Aboyne arrived, somewhat to his Majesty's surprise. So, in a letter from Newcastle, dated 13th of May 1639, he says, while deprecating more "money expense"—the favourite having pretty well drained him—"I could not let my Lord Aboyne go without these lines, though it be rather to confirm than to add to my two former: As for what assistance you can spare him out of the forces that are with you, I leave you to judge, and I shall be glad of it, if you find it may do good: If, with the countenance and assistance of what force you have, you may uphold my party in the north, and the rest of those noblemen I have sent to you, I shall *esteem it a very great service.*" And in another letter,

dated a few days afterwards, he again says,—"The Lord Aboyne's proposition I have in my last recommended to you, though at that time I thought not himself would be the messenger of it."

Thus we have certain facts unquestionably proved. The expedition in arms against Scotland was planned and pressed upon the King by Hamilton himself. He was not, or professed to the King not to be, "a lover of his country;" he forswears it in terms of execration. The employment of invading his native country was not "thrust upon him;" he expressly asked it from the King. That there was a loyal spirit in the north capable of being turned to account in arms, he was not ignorant; he reported the fact, and proposed the commission of lieutenancy for Huntly. Yet he never took Huntly himself into these counsels, but, on the contrary, "slighted him," when the loyal Marquis waited upon him in Edinburgh. Let us now see how he paved the way for the discomfiture of Aboyne by Montrose, at the very time when his too trusting master was writing to him that he would "esteem it a very great service to uphold my party in the north."

The wily minion, timeously informed of the move to Court, checkmated the inexperienced Viscount. While the latter was on his return to Scotland, Hamilton sent the troops, which ought to have followed Aboyne, back to England on the most frivolous pretexts. The young hope of the Gordons reached the fleet in high spirits, fortified with his commission as lieutenant of the north. "In the Admiral's ship he was royally feasted, with playing of the ordnance at every health." But, alas! the soldiers were gone. Not a company remained that could be spared, as he was informed by this High Admiral, who at the same time held out some false hopes of sending him succours ere long. "Allow me, however," says the Admiral, "to recommend to you my distinguished friend *Colonel Gun:* His great experience will be your best aid: You will find him invaluable as a military commander and adviser: Take him along with you,—he is in himself a host." The vaunted aid of this equivocal character proved to be such as obtained for him the title of "Traitor Gun."

The crisis of Aboyne's appearance at Court had occasioned Montrose to hurry back to the north, while his former able co-adjutor Leslie, with his fantastical but well-organised array of blue-bonnets, black-gowns, and blackguards, marched against the King at the borders.[1] The associated barons of the north, daily expecting to be joined by Aboyne and the royal auxiliaries, had meanwhile defeated, or rather chased away, the Master of Forbes, and his covenanting adherents, in a miserable ruffle, called " the trot of Turreff." But this association in support of the King, was somewhat alarming to the junto at head quarters. It was composed of such influential barons as Clunie, Gight, Haddo, Abergeldy, Newton, Buckie, Park, Letterfurie, Cairnburrow, Craig, Invermarkie, with the Ogilvies of Banff, and Carnousie, the Urquharts of Cromartie and Crombie, Turing of Foverane, Udny of Udny, Leith of Harthill, Seton of Pitmedden, and some others. The joint command was bestowed upon Banff and Haddo. But amid all these high sounding and baronial names, there was but one officer of experience and professional habits, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, son of Johnston of Crimond, the Provost of Aberdeen, who led their van. This was termed and subscribed as an " Engagement for the maintenance of the King's prerogative; and next, for the duty, service, honour, and safety of Huntly and his family, and

[1] Baillie's account of their encampment is most amusing, and highly characteristic of the writer: " Had you lent your ear," he says, " in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been *refreshed*: True, there was *swearing*, and *cursing*, and *brawling*, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved; but we hoped, if our camp, had been a *little settled*, to have gotten some way for these misorders." The camp was sufficiently settled, however, to take excellent order with their bodies, and Baillie descants, with more than the genius of a hungry Scot, upon the comparative merits of the sumptuous feasts of the English commander and his own: The fare, he says, at Leslie's long side-table was " as became a General in time of war; but not so *curious* by far as Arundel's to our nobles." And then, " Our meanest soldiers were always served in wheat bread, and a groat would have gotten them a lamb-leg, which was a dainty world to the most of them." Our chronicler, in fact, was more than half crazy with excitement on the occasion. He says, " I was a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was *resolved* to *die* in that service, *without return*. I found the favour of God shining upon me, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet *strong* and *vehement* spirit leading me all along; but I was no sooner on my way westward, after the conclusion of the peace, than my old security [*i. e.* his senses] returned."

for our own mutual preservation." Their short-lived dominion came to be known as "the Barons' reign."

The trot of Turreff occurred early on the morning of Tuesday the 14th of May, and the successful barons occupied Aberdeen from the 15th until the 20th. Ogilvy of Banff, and Huntly himself, endeavoured to communicate this hopeful state of affairs by letters to the King. The fate of these we learn from Baillie:—"Banff made haste to take all advantages of his scarce hoped-for victory. He ran over the country, repossessed Aberdeen, which was not unwilling to be brought back to their old friends, advertised the King of his success, and prayed for supply. *The matter was of consequence.* Ogilvie's and the Marquis's letters were *intercepted*, wherein we saw the appearance of some more troubles from the north." It was to the utter amazement of the Covenanters themselves, that at this crisis Hamilton persisted in neglecting the cause of the King. "It was thought," says Baillie, "that the most, if not all the land soldiers which the Marquis had, were intended first for Huntly's service; but *God* disappointed this *very dangerous* intention, by keeping the navy some weeks longer on the English coast than was expected, even till Huntly was in hands, and all his designs broken." But Huntly's capture was no excuse for Hamilton. The partial success of the barons at Turreff, their occupation of Aberdeen, and the ardour of Aboyne, opened a prospect of certain success for the Royal cause had he co-operated with the north at this time. Baillie himself adds,—"Yet if at this same time a considerable supply had been sent to Banff (Ogilvy), *he had wrought us much woe:* but Montrose at once, with Marischal—these two *noble valiant youths*, made haste with all the friends they could gather."[1]

Montrose was still in Edinburgh on the 18th of May. The young Earl Marischal had reached the north prior to this, having hastened thither, with some forces levied in the Mearns, to save his lands from pillage. Secure in his strong castle of Dunottar, he was negociating with the loyalists, through the medium of that prudent and peaceful baron, Robert Gordon of Straloch, and keeping them in play, before Montrose arrived.

[1] Baillie's Letter to Spang, dated 28th Sept. 1639, a few months after the event.

In vain had the gallant barons scattered the Forbeses and the Frazers, and kept swarming to and fro, and disputing among themselves, by the Dee and by the Spey, now at Strathbogie, and now at Aberdeen. Aboyne came not with the hoped-for succours. On the 20th they marched from Aberdeen, up the Dee towards Durris, in search of Donald Farquharson of Monaltrie, who was expected to meet them with the Highlanders of Strathdee, Braemar, Strathaven, and Glenlivet. That night they lay in the fields, and in the morning their hopes obtained a partial elevation. For, with Monaltrie and his men, there came to them a new leader in the person of "Lord Ludovick Gordon, Huntly's third son, who had broke away from his grandmother at the Bog of Gicht, and had forsaken the school and his tutor, leaping over the walls, so hazardously, that he went near to break one of his arms; he, I say, in Highland habits, being as yet a young boy, had the name of leader to those Highlanders."[1] Marischal, certain of the immediate co-operation of Montrose, marched upon Aberdeen, which he occupied without resistance on the 23d of May, and had the satisfaction of reconoitering this host of dissentient Highland barons in full retreat before him.

Meanwhile our hero, crossing the Grampians in his usual rapid style, entered this luckless town on the 25th, at the head of about four thousand troops, the flower of which were the cavalry of Angus and Mearns, and followed by a train of field-pieces. He entered the town, as before, at the Over Kirk-gate Port, in order of battle, with braying of trumpets, rolling of drums, and displayed banners. Once more, in this hostile fashion, they marched through the Broad-gate, the Castle-gate, and so to the Queen's Links, where they bivouacked for the night. Here Montrose found himself surrounded by a council of distinguished nobles, the Earls Marischal, Athole, and Kinghorn, the Lords Drummond, Couper, and Frazer, and the Masters of Forbes and Gray. His army brought with it the usual and inevitable accompaniments of such desultory expeditions, in such times,—pillage and oppression. The 26th, being Sunday, all the nobles, heard devotion, says Spalding, "but the rascal soldiers, in time of both preachings, are abusing and plundering

[1] James Gordon's History of Scots Affairs.

New Aberdeen pitifully, without regard to God or man." One strange outbreak of their cruelty consisted in leaving not a dog alive that could be found in Aberdeen, from the hound to the house-dog, and from the luxurious spaniel to the cur of low degree. "The reason was, when the first army came here, ilk captain, commander, servant, and soldier, had ane blue ribbon about his craig; in despite and derision whereof, when they removed from Aberdeen, some women of Aberdeen, as was alleged, knit blue ribbons about their messens' craigs, whereat these soldiers took offence, and killed all their dogs for this very cause."

On Monday the 27th the covenanting General summoned a council of war to decide upon the fate of the prelatic towns. Guthrie tells us, that "his generous mind was more eager for victory than execution," and that he resisted the urgent demands of the ministers to have the towns of Aberdeen given up to the horrors of indiscriminate plunder and conflagration. This is sufficiently corroborated by Baillie and Spalding. Even the "meek, sweet spirit" of the former panted after the blood and ashes of the loyal north. Montrose refused to glut it. The matter had been debated in council, and Baillie surmises that the soldiers of the Covenant fell off from their standard, in consequence of the ill-timed humanity of Montrose. "Banff," he says, "dissolved his forces, Aberdeen rendered at once, all was carried before us. But ere it was long, our forces likewise disbanded, as was thought on some malcontentment, either at *Montrose's too great lenity in sparing the enemy's houses*, or somewhat else." And this was Baillie's constant and only complaint against Montrose, while in arms for the Covenant. The humane General decreed, however, that, by eleven o'clock of the day following that on which he held the council of war, the fine of ten thousand marks should be paid, under pain of the town being given up to plunder. This modified exaction saved the fair seat of loyalty and learning. It appears by the treasury accounts still extant in Aberdeen, that the treasurer paid it to the uttermost farthing; and Spalding himself tells us, that, by the General's orders, neither goods nor gear were plundered.

Montrose now thought it high time to break "the barons' reign." His army marched out of Aberdeen on the morning of

the 30th May 1639, in order of battle, the infantry going first, followed by the General at the head of his well appointed cavalry. Ten thousand strong, they were cheered on the march by their bagpipes, trumpets, and drums, and the rattle of ten brazen field-pieces in the rear. Their commander's intention was to besiege the houses of the gentlemen of the name of Gordon. For upon his appearance the barons were disbanded, and dispersed, so that he could hardly tell where to find an enemy. That night they encamped at Udny, and marched from thence on the following day to Haddo House, or Kellie, belonging to Sir John Gordon. But the place where he determined to commence operations was before the castle of Sir George Gordon of Gight, in which that bold baron, aided by the determined spirit and practical skill of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, was so well fortified as to scorn the summons of his formidable pursuer. Montrose, unprovided with a battering train, turned his field-pieces against the castle, and for two days and nights vainly essayed to effect a breach. While thus employed, suddenly he heard that a fleet, bearing Aboyne, as Lieutenant of the North, and a well appointed army, was about to arrive at Aberdeen. Never doubting that the royal lieutenant would be now at least most efficiently supported, and his own forces being much diminished, (according to Baillie, "on some malcontentment at Montrose's too great lenity,") our hero, aware of the danger of a superior force interposed between him and the Tables, fell back upon Aberdeen, which he again entered, on Monday the 3d of June, by one of those rapid movements so characteristic of all his campaigns. There he maintained his dignity as a conqueror, by remaining a whole day, and only quitted it shortly before Aboyne entered the Road, when he marched homewards, in perfect order, with his troops and artillery. On the way he paused for a night at the Castle of Dunottar, where he was received by the Earl Marischal himself, who, with a few horse, had preceded him some days on the retreat.

It was about the 5th of June that Aboyne entered the Road of Aberdeen, with two armed vessels of sixteen guns each, and a Newcastle collier. He was accompanied by Ogilvy of Banff, Irving of Drum, and other loyalists, who had been lately com-

pelled to seek safety in flight, but now returned with renewed hopes for the success of their cause. The Earl of Tullibardine also accompanied the young Viscount. And, to the great annoyance of the Covenanters, with Aboyne came even Glencairn,[1] the representative of the noblest and purest covenanting blood in Scotland, who refused to recognize the faction that now took the name of the covenant of his fathers in vain. Moreover, there was Colonel *alias* Traitor Gun. For several days the young Lieutenant, having proclaimed his commission, abode in his ships, in the hope of being joined by the auxiliaries which Hamilton had given him some reason still to expect. But these came not, and Glencairn and Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from Court, apparently disheartened and disgusted at the aspect of the King's affairs, took their leave of his lieutenant, and departed to their own homes.

There was now a most important collision about to occur, at a very critical period for the country. Yet the leaders on both sides were mere boys, with the exception of Montrose, who himself was not above twenty seven years of age. His distinguished ally, Marischal, was somewhat younger, being at this time scarcely three-and-twenty. Then, the loyal nobleman, whose duty was no less than to sustain the King's cause in Scotland, had seen but nineteen summers. And, as Glencairn and Tullibardine left him to his fate, there came to support that royal standard, tottering in the youthful grasp of Aboyne, a hand less steady and a head less wise than his own. Young Lord Lewis Gordon, whom we have already heard of as the spoilt pet of his grandmother, a boy of thirteen or little more, and the wildest and most wilful of his times, "hastily," says Spalding, "raises his father's ground, friends and followers, men, tenants, and servants, who most gladly and willingly came with him, and, upon Friday the 7th of June, marched in brave order, about a thousand men on horse and foot, well armed, brave men, with captains, commanders, and leaders, trumpets, drums, and bagpipes, and to Aberdeen came they, to meet the Lord Aboyne, having also in their company four field-pieces of brass, which

[1] "Glencairn, who unhappily all this time otherwise than his forbears, to the losing of the hearts of all his friends, for the Marquis's pleasure, had deserted his company."—Baillie.

they brought with them out of Strathbogie." Such was the position of the royal cause, when Aboyne, and Traitor Gun, marched against Montrose, early in the month of June 1639.

It was upon Friday the 14th that they commenced to march from Aberdeen towards Angus. But immediately intelligence reached them that the omnipresent Montrose had again gathered his forces, and was already at Stonehaven, on his way to do them battle. So Aboyne encamped that night at Muchalls, the place of Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys, and sent on a party of horse to watch the motions of the enemy, whom they discovered, strongly entrenched before Dunottar, with about eight hundred foot and horse, two brass demi-cannon, and some field-pieces, brought out of Marischal's stronghold, the gates of which were open to receive them on a retreat. Montrose, and his noble coadjutor, kept closely within their works at Stonehaven all night, without attempting to molest Aboyne's cavalry, which returned to the main body before sunrise. Early on the morning of Saturday, the loyalists marched forward in the direction of the church of Fetteresso, till within a mile of Stonehaven, when Colonel Gun, in whose hands Aboyne unfortunately had placed the command of his army, gave orders to turn off the high road, to the left hand, upon a heath or moor, where he drew them up in battle array. The van, commanded by Sir John Gordon of Haddo, was composed of a volunteer corps of a hundred gentlemen, cuirassiers, who, for their ensign, carried a handkerchief upon a lance. Next came a regiment of musketeers, citizens of Aberdeen, about four hundred strong. In the rear were the Highlanders; and the cavalry were disposed on the flanks. Montrose, aware that Stonehaven was not tenable, had made arrangements to retreat into the stronghold of Dunottar; but, it is said, in order to gain time to reinforce his troops, he now sent to Aboyne "a letter, by way of *complimenting* challenge," which had the effect of drawing that young nobleman still nearer to Stonehaven, upon a rising ground called the Meagre-hill, where his troops were again arranged in order of battle, but completely exposed to the fire of Montrose's artillery. The young Viscount's own intention was to have marched directly to the relief of the King, without turning aside to engage the covenanting General. But he was overruled by his military

conductor, upon whose conduct the following severe strictures occur in the manuscript of Patrick Gordon of Ruthven.

"But Gun, who was now begun to play his pranks, finds this course (of marching southwards) too safe and fair for a good success, and resolves most basely rather to lose the estimation of a good leader than to put it in practice. And this did not a little confirm the jealousy of the wiser sort, that he had been schooled before he came there. For when he came near Stonehaven, he leaves the way he should have marched, and most idly, ignorantly, or rather, in plain terms, treacherously, (for he never could give a reason for it but that he did it to *harden them to be cannon-proof)*, he draws them all up in battle array upon the side of a little hill that looks towards the town, from whence he was not able to do them the least harm in the world without great ordnance, but was sure to receive it; for he exposed them all, both horse and foot, to the mercy of the cannon, so that if they (Montrose and Marischal) had been well-stored of good cannon, they had broken and defeated them all, with the devouring fury of the cannon only, without the force of men or arms. But it was their good fortune, as God would have it, that the enemy had but two *cartowes*, and, through want of skill in their cannoneer, some balls went over them a great way, some fell short, and but one lighted amongst them, whereby some were hurt, and some slain, but not many."[1]

The account in James Gordon's manuscript is substantially the same, though it varies in some particulars. He says, that after a little skirmishing, in which Aboyne's cavalry were driven back, Montrose sent a few cannon bullets among Aboyne's brigades, which so alarmed the Highlanders that they wheeled about and fled in confusion, nor ever looked behind them, although Aboyne himself made every exertion to rally the fugitives, until they reached a morass about half a mile distant.[2] This example, and the indignation felt by the troops at

[1] Gun, having placed his men where they might be well peppered, retired to *breakfast* in a safe place.

[2] The Highlanders were totally unprepared for the extraordinary effect of a "dear Sandy's stoup." They had another name for it, as we learn from Baillie, who thus writes:—"So soon as Montrose had turned homewards to the Mearns, at once Aboyne and Banff, with Colonel Gun, and some other officers, gathered great forces.

the manner in which they were exposed by Gun, caused the whole of the royal infantry to mutiny, and hasten back to Aberdeen. But a party of horse remained firm, and masked the retreat, so that Montrose was not aware of the falling away of the forces opposed to him. Meanwhile the Viscount dispatched two of his officers to Aberdeen, who ordered drums to be beat through the town, summoning the deserters instantly to return to their standard under the pains of treason. No sooner, however, was this proclamation issued, than Aboyne himself entered the town, on Saturday night, having been left with scarcely troops sufficient to guard his person. On the morning of the 15th of June, the royal lieutenant was at the head of four thousand foot and horse, "as gallant and resolute and well-appointed men," says James Gordon, "as were to be found in Scotland;" and this in the face of an enemy not above eight hundred strong. On the morning of the 16th, he was back in Aberdeen with no more than six hundred horse, composed of the gallant Gordons, who still rallied round him, entreating him, however, as he valued the royal cause, to beware of *Traitor Gun*. Another circumstance, also attributed by the contemporary historians to this worthy, tended most materially to the discomfiture of the King's lieutenant upon this occasion. As they were manœuvering near the coast, Aboyne's armed vessels were ordered to sail as near the army as possible, and to keep a parallel course. But the only use which Colonel Gun made of the ships was this:—He sent on board, by way of disencumbering the troops, one-half of Aboyne's artillery, and the greater proportion of his ammunition, at a time when, as the event proved, that arm was most essential. The result is thus pathetically recorded by the Parson of Rothiemay: "Their ships, that were going along, and appointed to wait upon them, were forced to bear off to seawards, and could not come near

Aberdeen joined heartily to the party. They spoiled Marischal's lands, and all our friends there. They had devoured Dundee and all Angus in the throat of their hope. But at once Montrose and Marischal, *most valorous and happy gentlemen*, gave them some other matter to do, though much inferior in number. They came to seek them (Montrose and Marischal). Some great ordnance we had which moved our party to hold off, when they were coming on hoping to have clean defeat us; for their Highlanders avowed they could not abide *the musket's mother*, and so fled in troops at the first volley."

them; nor did they ever see them again to this hour; so that cannon, and ammunition, and the three ships, all vanished together."

Montrose, with the prompt energy to which he owed his future successes, instantly determined to march once more upon Aberdeen. When within six miles of that devoted town, an advanced party of his cavalry encountered an equal number of the Gordons, whom Aboyne had dispatched to watch the motions of the Covenanters. Being only seven on each side, there was something knightly and romantic in this encounter, wherein the Gordons were victors. After several wounds given and received, Montrose's seven horsemen were defeated, and the laird of Powrie, Fotheringhame, made prisoner by Gordon of Fechill, and Ogilvy of Powrie, younger, wounded and taken by Nathaniel Gordon, best and bravest of loyalists, the future companion and fellow martyr of Montrose. Aboyne's party was led upon this occasion by the gallant Colonel Johnston, who was most anxious to have returned to the charge with the whole chivalry of the Gordons, which he promised would utterly rout the combined forces of Montrose and Marischal. This excellent counsel was overruled by Colonel Gun.

Aboyne was now in a critical position, and so was Aberdeen. Although our hero was on his route to the south when the royal lieutenant, whose strength he had over-estimated, caused him to turn, he was not the man to omit following up his blow upon a retreating enemy. Some mounted scouts, sent to watch his movements, returned to town with the intelligence that he was at their heels. This was most alarming news to the loyalists, who had already, upon more occasions than one, been so leniently dealt with by Montrose, as to induce the disappointed Baillie to exclaim, that "all had been forgiven to that *unnatural* city." Long had these agitating preachers been watching the horizon for the purifying flames of its conflagration. Long had they exultingly announced, to use their own words, that "now the curse was alighting upon Meroz, which came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Still he, who, in the agitation of their hopes deferred, was ever and anon lauded by them as that "noble and true hearted cavalier"—that "most valorous and happy gentleman"—that "generous and noble youth"—had

disappointed their expectations. It was not smiting in battle —it was the smiting *after battle*, that these ravens of the Covenant ever looked to; and hitherto that harvest, which a few years afterwards they so abundantly reaped, had failed. It had failed, as they themselves declared, because of "the lenity of Montrose in sparing the enemies' houses." And with ominous grumbling they recorded that "the *discretion* of that generous and noble youth was but *too great*."

But what amount of discretion, in other words mercy, would he show now that, for the third time, he had to compel the recusant city to submit to the covenanting government, against the King? The inhabitants of Aberdeen, upon this occasion, were hopeless of his exercising the like forbearance. Attila was at their gates. The royal lieutenant was a boy; and in leading strings of one of Hamilton's tools, a mercenary officer whose conduct was squared to his special bargain, whoever paid him; and who had already so demeaned himself, in handling the King's troops, that every loyalist in the camp, with the exception of the young and inexperienced commander whom he ruled, was more than whispering that he was a traitor. Under that guidance the superior forces of Aboyne had melted away. Glencairn and Tullibardine, who had offered their services to the King at Newcastle, and had accordingly accompanied the young Viscount from thence, along with this distinguished Colonel Gun—for distinguished he was under that immortal and eternal star of the Scotch mercenaries, Gustavus Adolphus—had retired in disgust, when they saw the counsels that prevailed. The ships, artillery, and ammunition, had vanished. Nevertheless Aberdeen was not to fall this time without a struggle. The young representative of the House of Huntly was still with them, surrounded by some hundreds of the Gordon chivalry. To adopt the words of an old ballad, somewhat regardless of rhyme, which commemorates a casualty of that same passage of arms :—

"Some rode on the black, and grey,
And some, rode on the brown,
But the bonny Johnnie Seton,
He lay gasping on the ground."

But their main strength consisted in a stalwart band of armed

citizens whom the occasion had rendered desperate; and at the head of these was Colonel Johnston, the son of their Provost, as brave a cavalier, and as good a soldier, as ever stood for right against might.

The waters of the Dee had been rendered impassable by recent rains, and the covenanting commander found he could effect a passage only by means of the bridge of Dee, a stately edifice of seven arches, about two miles distant from the town. Aware of the value of the position, Colonel Johnston had the sagacity to fortify this entrance, by closing the portals of the bridge at the end next to the enemy, and lining the barrier with turf and earth, as well as the rapidity of Montrose's movements would allow. But its best lining was the Aberdeen musketeers, supported as they were by the Gordon horse, along with the few soldiers who yet adhered to the royal Lieutenant. These formidable preparations brought the covenanting army to a stand. They drew up in battle array, upon a rising ground, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the bridge, which this eminence commanded. Here Montrose planted the field-pieces and demi-cannons, with which he had recently been battering the Castle of Gight, and the unusual demonstrations of whose power had affected the loyal Highlanders as the first aspect of the elephant is said to have scared the Roman soldier; an incident alluded to in the ancient ballad already quoted:—

"The Highland men are clever men
At handling sword or gun,
But yet they are too naked men
To bear the cannon's rung."

"For a cannon's roar, in a summer night,
Is like thunder in the air,
There's not a man in highland dress
Can face the cannon's fire."

But the Aberdeen burghers were not to be scared by noise, when fighting *pro aris et focis*. Four companies were made to occupy the bridge, supported in the rear by the cavalry, who were ready to charge should the enemy win the passage. Their confidence was increased, when they found that the first twenty shots from "the mother of the musket," all fell short, and only

occasioned the gay Gordons, who had been displaying themselves too freely on the banks of the Dee, to keep further aloof. The four little brazen cannon, to which Colonel Gun had reduced the royal artillery, proved to be useless toys, only fit for firing salvos at Gordon castle. Montrose was better provided. He was not even dependent upon his "dear Sandie's stoups." He had some good field pieces from the castle of Dunottar, besides two demi-cannon, carrying a ball of twenty pound, which did excellent service upon this occasion. His cannonade with the field-pieces having failed to reach the troops beyond the bridge, he directed with more effect his battery against the fortifications, and under cover of the discharge, ordered out some parties of musketeers to fall on, and take the bridge by storm. These were sternly met by an hundred Aberdonians, whom Johnston commanded on the bridge, fifty at a time sustaining each assault, while the Gordons kept their ground in the rear, ready to charge when necessary. This well organised defence held the assailants completely at bay. Some covenanting companies from Dundee, headed by one Captain Bonar, becoming emulous of the Aberdeen citizens, made it a special request to be allowed to storm. Montrose, who was not likely to restrain such ardour, bade them take it in the name of the Covenant. So at it they went, the little dumpy cartows covering their advance. But so warm was the reception, and so formidable shewed the cavaliers awaiting them at the other side of the water, that round they went again, followed by shouts of triumph and derision from the rival burghers. And now some shriller cries mingled with the whooping of the brave townsmen. This desperate assault occurred on the 18th of June 1639; and as the hot work lasted from morning till sun-down, the exhaustion, fatigue, and anxiety, was no less to them, than to those who fought on the 18th of June 1815. But, to adopt the phrase of the immortal Jarvie, "the comforts of the Salt Market" were somewhat nearer their persons; and many a willing *Matty* was at hand, to do their belligerent masters' bidding. "Nay," says the old historian of the family of Gordon, "'tis very remarkable, that in a short time the very servant maids got such courage, that nobly they brought meat, drink, and other necessaries to their masters and relations that were upon the bridge, not regarding the cannon or musket balls that

were continually flying among them." They came to have no more dread of the musket's mother than if these had indeed been their own water stoups, over which many a stormy flyting had occurred. It is pleasant to record, that all the "serving maids" of Scotland were not of the tribe of Jenny Geddes, "who first began to pull down the bishops' pride," nor in the pay of his Majesty's Advocate, and the mother of his Majesty's prime minister for Scotland.

Darkness separated the combatants. The assailants bivouacked on the hill. But while, in the watches of the night, creature comforts were doubtless being still administered by the faithful serving-maids to the defenders of their fair city, and fairer fame, our hero was wide awake. Taking advantage of the darkness, he contrived to plant his two demi-cannon close to the bridge; and when the assault came to be renewed next morning, it was under circumstances more favourable for the assailants. A few discharges burst open and cleared away the portals, and rude defences, at the southern extremity of the bridge. Colonel Johnston still animated the defence, which was as obstinate as ever. But Montrose was not to be denied. He had some horse with him, though quite inadequate to cope with the Gordons; and, moreover, the waters of the Dee had so risen that ford there was none. Nevertheless, he ordered his horsemen to display themselves higher up the river, as if they had discovered a passage, and were about to cross. The ruse, for such it was, succeeded. Colonel Gun advised, indeed ordered—for he professed to be commissioned by the King to guide the young Viscount—that the cavalry should be withdrawn from their advantageous position near the bridge, in order to follow the movement of the enemy's horse up the river. In vain was this order remonstrated against, and Colonel Gun informed that the Dee was impassable without a bridge or a boat. Upon this, and every occasion when the mercenary was contradicted, he became as obstinate, though never so honest, as Sir Dugald Dalgetty. He bullied those around him, and threatened to give up his commission, and complain to the King. His order upon this occasion was fatal to the defence of Aberdeen. As the Gordons displayed themselves on the opposite bank, they came within range of the covenanting

artillery, and Seton of Pitmedden, a flower of that chivalry, fell a sacrifice to the false move. He was riding by the side of Aboyne, when a cannon-ball swept the whole upper part of his body away from the saddle.

"Upon the eighteenth day of June,
A dreary day to see,
The southern Lords did pitch their camp,
Just at the bridge of Dee:

"Bonnie John Seton, of Pitmeddin,
A bold baron was he;
He made his testament ere he went out,
The wiser man was he:

"He left his land to his young son,
His lady her dowrie,
A thousand crowns to his daughter Jean,
Yet on the nurse's knee:
* * * * * *
"His name was Major Middleton
That manned the bridge of Dee;
His name was Colonel Henderson
That let the cannons flee:

"His name was Major Middleton
That manned the bridge of Dee;
And his name was Colonel Henderson
That dung Pitmeddin in three."

Here the old ballad does some injustice to the brave Colonel Johnston. He it was who manned the bridge of Dee, Major Middleton commanding a company under Montrose on the other side. To this rough and ready soldier, who eventually, without other merit, became a very great man, our hero turned, when he found the assault still flagging, and ordered a vigorous charge upon the weakened defenders of the pass. Middleton cheered them on, exclaiming that the cannon would make them all arrant cowards, as they could do nothing without them. At that instant a shot took the corner of the parapet, laying it in ruins, which fell upon Colonel Johnston, and crushed his leg. With difficulty he was placed on horseback, and conveyed into the town, when the defenders of the bridge gave way, and fled. Traitor Gun improved the opportunity. The Gordon cavalry

were still in time, on the return from their bootless errand, to charge the Covenanters debouching in confusion from the now undefended bridge. But Gun raised the cry that Johnston was killed, the day lost, and that it was *sauve qui peut*. The cavaliers with Aboyne expressed the highest indignation, and were inclined to disobey the command. Gordon of Arradoul exclaimed that the Gordons never quitted a field of battle without charging; and when Gun insisted upon their looking to their own safety, "Aradoull, in a great chafe, told him to his face, he was a villain, and an arrant traitor, all which Colonel Gun swallowed quietly." So it is recorded by James Gordon of Rothiemay; and another contemporary, Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, tells the same story. This affront from Gordon of Aradoul, says the latter, "and sundry other affronts from others, he, Gun, answered with silence, keeping himself always upon my Lord Aboyne's left hand, from that time forth, whose only presence kept him in security." The result was, that the Gordon horse, three hundred strong, with the royal Lieutenant and Colonel Gun at their head, went on the spur to Strathbogie (Castle Huntly), while Montrose took possession of Aberdeen, on the evening of the 19th of June 1639.

Notwithstanding the formidable nature of the struggle, Montrose effected the passage of the Dee, and the capture of Aberdeen, with little slaughter. The loss of life, on either side, was something under a score, of whom the only names of note are Seton of Pitmedden, of the loyalists, and a brother of Ramsay of Balmain, in the ranks of the Covenant. But the soldiers of the victorious army passed the bridge in a state of great excitement; nor can there be a rational doubt, that, upon this occasion, Aberdeen only escaped destruction through the firmness, tact, and humanity of Montrose himself. Not only had he to restrain the fiery ebullitions of a storming army, in the first moments of success, but on the instant he had to oppose, with the utmost temper, tact, and caution, that morbid outcry for vengeance after victory, which thus early characterised the counsels of the Covenant; a characteristic which ere long rendered its annals so fearfully murderous, when there was no such heart of humanity combined with the hand of power, to save Scotland from those indelible stains. The contemporary chro-

niclers of either side, spectators, and sometimes actors amid the events they record, are his best biographers here.

Baillie, the Clarendon of the Covenant, reports the affair to his mechanical recipient, Spang, in wild terms of mingled triumph and regret. It is not difficult to surmise, on perusing that agitated, and somewhat incoherent bulletin, what would have been the fate of the prelatic towns had the "sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit," which he so records in his conceited self-portraiture, been in the ascendant then. The reader will not fail to mark the assertion of a deliberate resolve to have sacked the towns of Aberdeen, "orderly," on the day after their surrender—the wish being father to the thought—so strangely contrasted with the admission, that "the preventing mercies of God" unexpectedly interposed to forbid the cruelty. It is put, as if God's attribute of justice had been consigned into the hands of the kirk-militant, and his attribute of mercy retained in his own:—

"Montrose and Marischal, knowing the danger not only to their country but the whole cause, if they should either retire or stand, resolved to go on and fight. The enemy had fortified the bridge of Dee, and lay on the other shore under sconces, with their muskets and horsemen. We resolved to have the bridge on all hazards. It was a desperate piece of service, (none more stout, and full of good directions at it, than jesuit Abernethie), by the playing of the great ordnance on the bridge. And much ado; for the *perverse* citizens of Aberdeen did fight very manfully that day. At last, with some slaughter on both sides, we won the bridge—we put our enemy to rout—goes forward that same night to Aberdeen—*lodges without in the fields*—being resolved *to-morrow* to have sacked it orderly, that thereafter that town should have done our nation *no more cumber*. But, as it pleased God to keep us from all marks of the least alleged cruelty from the first taking up of our arms, so there the preventing mercies of God did *kyth* (were manifested) in a special manner. For that same night, by sea, the King's letters of pacification at Dunse were brought to the town; which tomorrow early being presented to our nobles, made them glad they had gotten that blessed cord whereby to bind up their soldiers' hands from doing of mischief, whereto that wicked

town's *just deservings* had made them very bent. For all our sparing, yet that country's *malicious disloyalty* seems not to be remeided."

Honour to whom honour is due. That which alone, under Providence, kept the Covenanters "from all marks of the least alleged cruelty, from the first taking up of our arms"—and Baillie himself is witness—was the recusant and unpalatable humanity of the man, whom, when they had ceased to bespatter him with their praise, they abused as "that bloody butcher, and viperous brood of Satan, James Graham." Nor had the resolve to sack Aberdeen, orderly, *on the morrow*, for one moment possessed the mind of Montrose. His very first measure, in the hour of victory, was to establish his army on the links without the town. Some quartering therein, and military ebullitions against the inhabitants, it was impossible to prevent. His soldiers seized, and bound with cords, forty-eight of the citizens who had so manfully opposed them. But their worst fate was a very temporary confinement in the tolbooth. How he averted horrors the absence of which Baillie contemplates with ill-disguised regret, is thus narrated by James Gordon, the partizan of Huntly and Aboyne:—

"When Montrose entered Aberdeen, the Lord Marischal, and Lord Muchall (Frazer), pressed him to burn the town, and urged him with the Committee of Estates' warrant for that effect. He answered, that it were best to advise a night upon it, since Aberdeen was the London of the north, and would prejudice themselves by want of it, *et cet.* So it was taken to consideration for that night; and next day the Earl Marischal and Lord Muchall came, protesting he should spare it. He answered, he was desirous so to do, but durst not, except they would be his warrant. Whereupon they drew up a paper, signed with both their hands, declaring that they had hindered it, and promising to interpone with the Committee of Estates for him. Yet the next year, when he was made prisoner[1] and accused, this was objected to Montrose, that he had not burned Aberdeen, as he had orders from the Committee of Estates. Then he produced Marischal and Muchall's paper, which hardly

[1] It was in 1641, the year following that in which James Gordon has placed it.

satisfied the exasperated Committee." Guthrie also notes, that, upon the occasion in question, "his generous mind was more eager for victory than execution." And Gordon of Sallagh, no friendly chronicler, declares, in his history of the Earls of Sutherland, that "some did persuade to raze the town, and to burn it, lest it should prejudice them afterwards; but that motion was *hindered and crushed by the Earl of Montrois*."

That travesty of amicable adjustments between conflicting states, which goes by the name of the Pacification of Berwick, was there signed, by the King and the Covenanters, upon the 18th of June 1639, the very day when the battle of the Dee commenced. The intelligence was made known in Aberdeen upon the morning of the 20th. Montrose exacted a fine of £4000 *Scots*, to save the town from fire and pillage;[1] ordered the imprisoned citizens to be forthwith released; withdrew his army from the vicinity, and then disbanded it in terms of the pacification. Having thus so far fulfilled his destiny, the chief of the Grahams retired for a while to his own home and family, to await the progress of events.

Traitor Gun carved his fortunes out of the dishonour of his name. Taking advantage of the fortunate crisis, he hastened to Berwick, where he found favour in the sight of the King in proportion to his favour with the minion. Hamilton knew how well he had done his part of not permitting the royal lieutenant to be victorious in Scotland. The King was made to believe that he was a very champion of the throne. A little *contretemps* had nearly spoilt all. The real champion, scarcely cured of his wounds, suddenly made his appearance also in the agitated circle of the Court. The notoriety of the fact alone could have induced Colonel Johnston to take the step he did. He publicly denounced Gun as a traitor before the King, and threw down his gauntlet. The combat was not permitted. It was the scene of Lord Rae with Ramsay, repeated on a smaller scale. The character of Hamilton was again periled by a loyal and chivalrous challenge, and the affair had a similar issue. Well might Baillie say, speaking of this very crisis, "The Marquis's ways were yet so ambiguous that no man understood him, only

[1] Town Council Records.

his absolute power with the King was oft there clearly seen." Gun, who had cast a slur upon the gay Gordons, by leading their charge in the safest direction at the turning point of the battle, was knighted by the sword of the King at Berwick not many days after! The staggering fact was immediately followed by his promotion to the post of a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber. But these measures of the favourite were too gross, the abuse of power too palpable, to enable him to retain that tool with effect in the royal establishment he controlled. Under the same patronage this favourite of fortune was speedily translated to Germany, and had no reason to regret the change. There he could tell his own tale of the bridge of Dee. He married, says Gordon of Sallagh, "a rich and noble lady, beside the imperial city of Ulne, upon the Danube;" and obtained the rank of Major-General in the imperial army. In 1648, Traitor Gun was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of the Empire!

The yet more extraordinary fortunes of another hero of the Dee may be here shortly noted. Major, or Captain Middleton, whose well timed charge stormed the bridge of Dee while the future German baron was running away, was originally a pikeman in Colonel Hepburn's regiment in France. He never accomplished a military feat of higher merit. Moreover, he was rude in speech, and overbearing in his temper. Mere soldiership, good management, and good luck, raised him to a pinnacle from which the gross talents and unscrupulous effrontery of Lauderdale scarcely sufficed to displace him. This most fortunate of all the soldiers of fortune, adhered to the service of the Covenant, long after his quondam commander, Montrose, had seen the error of his ways. He became, indeed, the greatest of its generals, with the exception of the two Leslies, yet never performed an exploit or struck a blow that the trump of fame could echo. His feeble and time-serving efforts in favour of the throne, at the eleventh hour, are as unworthy of memory as they were useless at the time. Having done everything—throughout the only military career that entitles him even to the name of a soldier—to deserve hanging at the hands of Charles the First, he was elevated by Charles the Second, in consequence of his temporary value as a reclaimed rebel and political tool, to a seat among the peers of the realm, in 1660,

as Earl of Middleton, Lord of Clermont and Fettercairn. So famous for nothing, indeed, did he become, that such chroniclers as Law, Kirkton, and Aubrey, have surrounded his name with an halo of ghost stories, and miraculous fantasies. Highland seers foretold his fate, while yet a youth; and when captive after the battle of Worcester, the ghost of a friend, or the devil, appeared to him in prison, read a line or two of his life to come, and when he had done his message, gave a frisk and said,

> "Giovanni, Giovanni, 'tis very strange
> In the world to see so sudden a change."

Well might Satan say so. On the Restoration, Middleton was invested with the viceregal office, and reigned King of Scotland, till Lauderdale dethroned him. It was his strange fate to preside as such over the royal pageant in Edinburgh which consigned to hallowed ground the shrivelled head and scattered limbs of the very hero at whose stirring voice of command he had sprung with his musketeers against the burghers of Aberdeen. And when in due time it befell his other quondam commander, Argyle, to perish on the scaffold, John Middleton was the sovereign to whom the appeal for mercy was made, and made in vain. It is said that he even spurned with his foot the Countess of Caithness on her knees, imploring for the life of her father. It was remembered of him, that after signing the Covenant, he raised his right arm, saying, "that if he should ever do anything against that blessed day's work, he wished that arm might be his death." When in dignified exile as Governor of Tangiers, "upon a certain time, he proving a young horse, was cast off by him, and in the fall hurt himself exceedingly, so that he sickens and dies of it." So records the Reverend Mr Robert Law. But in "God's Judgments against Persecutors," it is said to have been a fall down stairs, whereby was broken the bone of his right arm, which pierced his side; upon which follows the comment, "This was the end of one of those who had brought the Church of Scotland on her knees to Prelacy." And such were the varied fortunes of him whom the old ballad thus carelessly notes:—

> "His name was Major Middleton,
> That manned the bridge of Dee."

CHAPTER XIII.

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS WHICH PLACED MONTROSE IN OPPOSITION TO THE COVENANTERS—RENEWAL OF FACTIOUS PROCEEDINGS—MONTROSE'S FIRST INTERVIEW WITH THE KING—POPULAR IDEA THAT HE WAS THEN GAINED OVER, NOT HISTORY—LORD MAHON AND BISHOP GUTHRIE—MONTROSE'S OPPOSITION TO THE COVENANTERS IN 1639—HIS OWN STATEMENT OF THE CASE—PRINCIPAL BAILLIE'S OPINION OF THE MOVEMENT—THE EARL OF AIRTH'S REPORT TO THE KING—MONTROSE'S FIRST CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE KING—SCENE BETWEEN ROTHES AND THE LORD ADVOCATE—MONTROSE RENEWS HIS OPPOSITION IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1640—HIS COLLISION WITH ARGYLE IN THE OPPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE HOUSE OF AIRLIE—ARGYLE'S COMMISSION OF FIRE AND SWORD—IMPEACHES MONTROSE FOR HIS CONDUCT AT AIRLIE—MONTROSE EXONERATED—PROCEEDINGS OF ARGYLE UNDER HIS COMMISSION—ITS OPPRESSIVE POWERS—TERMS OF THE ACT OF EXONERATION FOR HIS EXERCISE OF THOSE POWERS—ABUSE OF THE KING'S NAME.

AFTER the pacification of Berwick, "those that loved peace," says Bishop Guthrie, "were filled with hope that our troubles were ended; but that was soon checked by an accident which fell out upon the 2d of July, and imported that the Covenanters meant not to sist there; for that day the Lord Treasurer, with my Lord Kinnoull and General Ruthven, coming in coach from the Castle through the High Street of Edinburgh, the *devout wives*, who at first put life in the cause, did now, when it was in danger to be buried, restore it again, by invading them and throwing stones at them. That this breach of the pacification had private allowance few doubted, in that those women used not to run unsent."

They who feel interested so to do, are apt to treat such contemporary records as mere party calumny. But the above is most substantially corroborated by that anonymous letter, addressed to the Procurator of the Kirk, in which it is recommended secretly to organize some such tumults against the bishops, "that, in a private way, some course may be taken

for their terror and disgrace if they offer to show themselves publicly."[1] The particulars of this last commotion are given by Baillie, in a letter to Spang, dated 28th September 1639, in these words:—"The people of Edinburgh, being provoked by the *insolent* and *triumphant* behaviour of that unhappy spark, Aboyne, who—yet reeking from our blood in the north, would rattle in his open coach through their causey—made an onset upon him, and well near had done him violence." Such was the shape in which events of the kind were usually recorded by this author, a Clarendon worthy of the Covenant. The same clergyman who condemns Montrose for not giving up Aberdeen to fire and sword, speaks of the defeated Aboyne, who can scarcely be said to have drawn blood at all, and whom Traitor Gun had induced to run away, as one "reeking from *our* blood in the north," and justifies the attempt upon his life by what he calls the provocation to the people of Edinburgh, in the circumstance of his driving in his carriage through their streets, after all parties professed to be reconciled by the pacification. Even the diary of his Majesty's Advocate does not confirm the view which Baillie has taken of this incident. Sir Thomas Hope states, that upon the 1st of July 1639 there was a great meeting of the council, at which the Assembly was indicted for the 12th of August; and that, when it was proclaimed, "the noblemen protested against the naming of Archbishops and Bishops." Immediately follows, and without further comment:—"On 3d July, Wednesday, was the *tumult of women* in Edinburgh, who invaded the Lord Treasurer, Earl Kinnoull, and Lord Aboyne, in their coaches."

His Majesty had intended to hold this conciliatory Parliament and Assembly in person. Early in July, notes the Advocate in his diary, "these three noblemen, viz. Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Lindsay, and Lord Loudon, went to his Majesty to give answer to some articles; but his Majesty desired others to come to court, whereof the Earl of Rothes, Earl of Montrose, Earl of Lothian, were those who went, about the 18th July, and returned to fetch with them the remainder." When these influential nobles were with the King, he commanded them to

[1] See before, p. 131.

send instantly for Argyle, Cassilis, Lindsay, and the rest of the most forward of the popular faction. These, says Guthrie, accordingly "prepared as if they intended to go, but had it so contrived, that when they came to the Watergate to take horse, multitudes were convened there to stop them, upon pretence that if they went they would be detained. And so it resolved in this, that the Lord Loudon should write an excuse to the King, which came to his hand the nineteenth day, but was not well taken. Upon the morrow, those that were already with the King obtained dismission, upon promise that they should return and bring up the rest with them." Charles was so annoyed by these factious proceedings, as to forego his intention of holding the Parliament of Scotland in person. "This day, 26th July 1639," notes the Advocate, "word came that his Majesty resolved suddenly to go to London, and took journey on Monday the 29th July." The King himself, in his Declaration published in the following year, states the reason: —"One of the greatest discouragements we had from going thither was the refusal of such lords, and others of that nation, whom we sent for to come to us to Berwick, by which disobedience they manifestly discovered their distrust of us; and it cannot be thought reasonable that we should trust our person with those that distrusted us, after so many arguments and assurances of our goodness toward them."

Immediately followed the crisis at which Montrose began consistently to evince that respect for the sovereign and his prerogatives which soon placed him in decided opposition to the Covenant. It would be a poor defence for him who laid down his life for his loyalty, to say that he was altogether unmoved by his interview at Berwick with Charles, whose kingly presence and noble aspect were never so imposing as when he was beset by difficulties and danger.[1] It may be conceded that he felt his heart yearn towards his sovereign, and that he departed from that interview under feelings of admiration, mingled with regret. But there were more rational

[1] Baillie, in the midst of all the excitement of the rebellion, thus speaks of Charles I.:—"His Majesty was ever the longer the better loved of all that heard him, as one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they ever had seen."

and substantial grounds for his growing opposition to the Covenant than most historians have given him credit for.

The General Assembly of 1639 met on the 12th of August, the Earl of Traquair being commissioner. All the irrational accusations confounding Episcopacy with Popery, were now more boldly stated and vehemently pressed. Upon this occasion the original demands of the Covenanters were far exceeded. Episcopacy was formally condemned as a thing unlawful in itself, and "contrary to the word of God." Not only was King James's establishment of the church overturned, but there was then forced upon the Commissioner, and upon the Privy Council, an ordinance for imposing the Covenant, which even the historian of the Church of Scotland condemns as an act to be "abhorred;" as "a deviation from the tolerant spirit of pure religion;" as, "in fact, an engine of severe persecution."[1] The Parliament, which eventually ratified these proceedings, met on the 31st of the same month. The exclusion of the Bishops had expunged one of the estates of the kingdom, and the whole frame of the legislature was consequently deranged. A crisis so violent could not fail to open the eyes of many. Moreover, a most determined attack was now made upon the prerogatives of the Crown. This was the circumstance which attracted the attention of Montrose, and arrested his progress in that downward path. The control of the mint—the command of the strongholds—the dispensing of honours, offices of state, and jurisdictions—the regulating precedency—all these, it was now proposed, should be transferred as privileges to the Parliament.

Such was the state of matters to which Bishop Guthrie alludes when, in reference to this Parliament, he says, "The leaders of the cause had farther projects, and, instead of rising, proposed a number of new motions concerning the constitution of Parliaments, and other things never treated on before, whereanent the Commissioner told them he had no instructions. *Montrose argued somewhat against these motions;* for which the zealots became *suspicious* of him, that the King had turned him at his being with his Majesty at Berwick; yet they seemed to take little notice thereof; only the vulgar, whom they used to hound

[1] Dr Cook, vol. ii. pp. 501, 502.

out, whispered in the streets to his prejudice; and the next morning he found affixed upon his chamber door a paper with these words written in it: *Invictus armis, verbis vincitur.*"[1]

This classical mode of conveying the calumny was a compliment to the valour and accomplishments of our hero. Whoever may have affixed it to his door, the mode of reproof, it is clear, was no conception of the vulgar. And that Montrose, at this crisis, had made the stand which the reverend chronicler here records, and the principle upon which he did so, we are now enabled to place beyond doubt or question. "It pleased God," says Montrose himself, speaking of the Assembly of 1639, "that the King's Majesty, being informed of the lawfulness of our proceedings, and honest intentions, for the most part was graciously pleased to accept of our petitions, and grant us a lawful General Assembly, to be held at Edinburgh, wherein the Acts of the

[1] Lord Mahon, in a flattering abstract, written, however, *currente calamo*, of the former edition of our Life of Montrose, (Quarterly Review, No. clvii., Dec. 1846, vol. lxxix. p. 6; published afterwards in a volume of critical essays), has this, among a few other somewhat rash objections:—

"We altogether disbelieve a story told by Bishop Guthrie, and repeated by Mr Napier without objection, that Montrose at this time found affixed to his chamber-door a paper with the words *invictus armis, verbis vincitur:* Such an inscription is clearly framed on a view of Montrose's later exploits; in 1639 he had yet done nothing to deserve the high compliment *invictus armis.*"

This is rather summary dealing with a very precise historical fact, resting on contemporary authority. Of course we repeated the story without objection, and we venture to do so still. There is some little confusion of ideas in the criticism. Montrose, in 1639, had done quite enough to *account* for the inscription, whether he *deserved* it or not. The accomplished reviewer overlooks the fact that it was a *covenanting* compliment, and that Montrose in arms for the Covenant had been constantly successful. The battle of the bridge of Dee was thought a great affair at the time. On the other hand, no one could have known better than the Rev. Henry Guthrie, then a clergyman of the Covenant, in whose contemporary MS. the anecdote is preserved, that the inscription, *verbis vincitur*, could *only* have application to Montrose's interview with the King at Berwick in 1639. Does Lord Mahon, in the nineteenth century, profess to correct a confusion, on such a subject, in the mind of the minister of Stirling, of the time? Or, having in his own mind some vague and ill-founded notions that Guthrie is a prejudiced chronicler not to be trusted, does he mean to affix the stamp of a deliberate untruth to this inconsequential anecdote? This clergyman was personally on the most intimate terms with Montrose. The notoriety of the circumstance alone could have induced him to record it. The idea that he had done so while thinking of Montrose's subsequent victories in support of the Throne, or that he had wilfully *invented* it, is a strong wink in the noble reviewer's literary and historical acumen.

Assembly of Glasgow were ratified, without so much as a show of opposition by his Majesty's Commissioner, conform to the conference and capitulation at the camp of Berwick. But the members of the said Parliament (of 1639) some of them having *far designs unknown to us*, others of them having found the *sweetness of government*, were pleased to refuse the ratification of the Acts of Assembly, with the abjuration of Episcopacy, and Court of High Commission introduced by the Prelates, *unless* they had the whole *alleged* liberty due to the subject; which was in fact intrenching upon *authority*, and the *total abrogation* of his Majesty's royal prerogative; whereby the King's Commissioner was constrained to rise and discharge the Parliament, and was urged to levy new forces to suppress their unlawful desires."[1]

Considering what Traquair had now yielded, even against the inclination and conscience of the King, well might Montrose take his stand here against the revolutionary movement. He had no idea of reasoning himself into a perpetual motion of democracy, after the fashion of the Reverend Principal Baillie, whose own conscience always went to the wall in every struggle with it. "If God," says the latter, "be pleased to bring upon us the year of our *visitation*, the *Devil* could never have invented so pregnant a means, and ruin this while, one and all, from the prince to the ploughman. For will the prince, at the clergy's desire, go on in violence to press their course, the mischiefs are present, horrible, in a clap!—Will he relent, and give way to our supplications, the danger is not yet passed!—We wot not *where to stand!*—When the book of canons and service are burnt and away, when the high commission is down, when the articles of Perth are made free, when the Bishops' authority is hemmed in with never so many laws, this makes us not secure from their future danger. So, *whatever* the Prince grants, I fear *we press more than he can grant;* and when we are *fully* satisfied, it is likely England *will begin where we have left off*." In these sen-

[1] Montrose's Defence, and Remonstrance to the Country, 1645. This important and interesting document, only recently discovered, was printed in our "Memorials of Montrose and his Times," edited for the Maitland Club, 1850.—See vol. i. p. 215. We shall frequently have occasion to refer to this most authentic illustration of Montrose's motives of action.

tences how accurately has Baillie epitomized the history of his party. The career of the Covenant was a succession of increasing demands, urged upon the principle, that the moment the pressure was removed, the recoil might be fatal to some of the faction; till at length the Covenanters considered it essential, not to the happiness of the country and stability of the constitution, though that was the pretext, but to their own existence and individual safety, that England should begin where they, however, *did not leave off*.

"The King," says Sir Walter Scott, following the popular version, "had long observed that Montrose was dissatisfied with the party to which he had hitherto adhered, and found no difficulty in engaging his services for the future in the royal cause."[1] This is too summary a mode of dealing with his motives. It reduces him to the level of a mere time-serving political adventurer. But the King, at the treaty of Berwick, neither "engaged the services" of his future champion, nor made any exertion to do so. Let us turn from the pages of history, to those secret missives which are ever and anon emerging, from the dust of private archives, to tell us the truth of history after history has been written.

It was in the month of July 1639 that Montrose, by special command, along with others, had a public interview with the King at Berwick. The grand result of the General Assembly, which immediately followed these hollow negotiations, we may give in the words of the Lord Advocate, who notes in his diary as follows:—

"17 August 1639, Saturday.—This day the Assembly, which began at Edinburgh on Monday the 12th August, closed the point of Episcopacy, and declared it *unlawful*, and *contrary to*

[1] Tales of a Grandfather, vol. i. p. 421. Edit. 1836. Malcolm Laing, in that conventional amble of his high historical steed, to which he paid more attention than to minute historical facts, puts it thus:—"Impatient of a superior, and conscious of military talents *unmarked* by his countrymen, Montrose was unable to brook the pre-eminence of Argyle in the senate, or of Lesly in the field: His expectations of the supreme command were disappointed; and, *at Berwick*, the *returning* favour of his sovereign *regained* a nobleman originally estranged from the Court by neglect, and detached from the Covenant by secret disgust."—*Hist. of Scotland*, i. 192.

God's word, to the unspeakable joy of all them that fear the Lord, and wait for his salvation."

Traquair took it upon him to assent to this, in the name of the King, which was going far enough in all conscience. Charles, little aware of the extreme *gusto* with which his own Advocate had recorded the fiat, expressed himself with such Christian indignation against the intolerance thus fathered upon himself, that Hamilton, now at his elbow, was constrained to write to the royal Commissioner in these terms:—"I cannot omit to tell you, that the word *unlawful* has infinitely distressed his Majesty, as you will find by his own, and you will do well to think how to relieve it."[1] Now, the King has been accused of an insidious reservation of the whole question, because he took this special objection to the terms of the covenanting abjuration of 1639, namely, the word *unlawful*.[2] Yet how completely is he justified by the chronicler of the Covenant himself, who, however, eventually gave in his entire adherence to the full measure of that senseless fanaticism. But it was a hard struggle even with him, who surely was one "seeking the Lord, and waiting for salvation." Baillie's conscience was very troublesome, as appears by his letters, on the subject of "the abjuration of all kind of Episcopacy."—"But withal," he says, "I heartily wished that, in the act of removal of it, no clause might be put which might oblige us *in conscience* to count that for *wicked*, and *unlawful in itself*, which the whole reformed churches this day, and, so far as I know, all the famous and classic divines that ever put pen to paper, either of old or late, absolved of *unlawfulness*." Had the rejection of Episcopacy in Scotland been placed upon the fair and rational footing which even this apostle of the cause desiderated, the abused and persecuted monarch would never have hesitated to ratify the act. And when this violence to his conscience, and to common sense, perpetrated by the General Assembly of 1639, was consummated in the Scotch Parliament of 1639–40, must we hold that the

[1] *Orig.* Traquair Charter-chest.

[2] The King was content that Episcopacy should be declared contrary to the constitution of the Church of Scotland, but not simply *unlawful*; which, he said, might extend the abjuration to any church in his dominions. Malcolm Laing makes very light of this distinction. Principal Baillie did not.

high-minded Montrose was a mere hireling of the King, because he refused to go further?

Charles indeed, soon after the treaty of Berwick, was informed that our hero had generally so demeaned and expressed himself, that his opposition to a rampant democracy might now be counted on. But that his presentation to the King, upon the occasion in question, had anything in it of the nature of luring a raking hawk, is sufficiently disproved by the very terms in which, some months thereafter, his loyal tendency was reported to the Sovereign.

We have already had occasion to notice, in connexion with Montrose, that illustrious scion of his house, William Graham, Earl of Monteith, Stratherne, and Airth.[1] Since the period of our former mention of him, ten years prior to that at which we are now arrived, double toil and trouble had been his portion. He had been deprived of all his high offices, disgraced, and banished to his own estate, in consequence of some alleged pretensions, through his Earldom of Stratherne, incautiously expressed, of having *redder blood* than the King himself. In 1637, however, an order of council was issued for his enlargement; and in 1639 he was re-admitted to the council-board, and the confidence of his Sovereign, under the less dangerous style and title of Earl of Airth, which had been bestowed upon him as a compromise. That he did not consider himself very unjustly or cruelly treated by the King, would appear from the fact, that in the same year we discover him in confidential correspondence with Charles; and, seemingly with great sincerity, affording him the best information he could obtain relative to the state of affairs in Scotland, and the actual dispositions towards the Throne, of the leading men there.

In a letter dated 20th September 1639, addressed by this nobleman to the King, during that same Parliament in which Montrose showed himself *conservative*, the following particular report of him occurs:—

"I find that my cousin Montrose hath carried himself both faithfully, and is more willing to contribute to his uttermost in anything for your Majesty's service, than any of these Lords

[1] See before, p. 54.

Covenanters; and I am confident that he will keep what I promised to your Majesty in his name; wherefore I do humbly entreat your Majesty, that, by a letter to him, you will take notice, and give him thanks, and desire a continuance: I wish the letter to be inclosed within your Majesty's letter to me; and, as I find the effects of his service to your Majesty at this Parliament, I shall either deliver or keep up the letter."

The writer of this letter, which contains various other remarks upon the state of parties in Scotland, anxiously inquires whether it were his Majesty's pleasure that he, Airth, should sign the Covenant, of new imposed at the dictation of the General Assembly, seeing that most part of the Privy Council, and the Commissioner himself, had so far yielded to the storm. He also desired to be instructed, as to whether he should offer advice to the Commissioner without being consulted. For answer, the Earl's letter is returned to him with the following instructions noted upon it, in the handwriting of the King:—

"To the first, I esteem them more that do not, than those that do, sign this last Covenant, though my Commissioner, and most of my Council, have done it. As for giving your opinion, —if he ask it, you shall do well to give it him; otherwise not: for I suspect that the issue will not be so fair, but that he will be glad to lay the burden on other men's shoulders to ease his own; which he may the readilier do, if you should either give him counsel unasked, or—being desired—not to give him your advice. "C. R."

"26 September 1639,

"For the Earl of Airth."[1]

From this reply it might be inferred that Charles had paid no attention to the suggestion with regard to Montrose, either from inattention, or from hostility towards the hero of the Bridge of Dee. The hint, however, had not been disregarded. No private letter from the King to Montrose at this time appears to have been written. But that the latter had, about two months thereafter, received the royal commands, probably in official form, to present himself at court, is placed beyond all doubt by his own reply, very recently recovered from the Ha-

[1] *Original*, Montrose Charter-room.

milton collection of state papers and historical muniments. It will be read with interest, as demonstrating the dignified and unimpeachable character of the earliest correspondence between Montrose and Charles the First.

" Most Sacred Sovereign,

" According to your Majesty's commandments, which you were graciously pleased to honour me withal, and my own bounden duty and inclination to your Majesty's service, I was straight parting—although your Majesty's pleasure was not so pressing—to have found your Majesty as you had commanded. Which coming to be here known, did so put aloft the minds of most part—being still filled with their usual and wonted jealousies—that I could expect nothing but more peremptory resolutions nor (than) is fit to trouble your Majesty withal; or me, in thinking to do your Majesty service, to have occasioned. And,—knowing your Majesty's intention did still tend towards the best settlement and accommodation of all these difficulties in this your Majesty's kingdom, according to your Majesty's gracious goodness and accustomed justice,—I chose rather, before matters should have been made worse and the gap enlarged by my means, to crave your Majesty's humble pardon for my stay, and make you acquainted with the necessities for it: hoping your Majesty will do me the honour to think that this is no shift,—for all of that kind is too much contrary to my humour, chiefly in what your Majesty or your service is concerned in,—but that, as I have ever been bold to avow, there are no things your Majesty shall be pleased to command me in —persuading myself they will be still such as befits, and do suit with all most incumbent duties—that I shall not think myself born to perform as

" Your Majesty's most loyal and faithful

" subject and servant,

" MONTROSE."

" Edinburgh, 26 December 1639.

" To the King's Most Excellent Majesty."[1]

[1] *Original*, Hamilton Charter-room. This important letter, now first published, was most courteously communicated to me by the late Duke of Hamilton, along with some other documents, from the Hamilton papers, in 1849.

Had Montrose, according to the popular version of his separation from the Covenanters, been seduced by the King at Berwick, he would have seized this most auspicious moment for the consummation of his self-interested policy. But conscientiously struggling, as he now was, to reconcile his patriotic views as a covenanter with that veneration for the Monarchy which the Covenant itself professed, and which he had ever truly at heart, he respectfully declined the mandate of his Sovereign, with a dignity of expression, and sincerity of feeling, which the accomplished and christian King could not fail to appreciate. And now indeed we may suppose Charles to have inwardly exclaimed, in the words of his favourite poet,—

——— " O for a falconer's voice,
To lure this tassel-gentle back again!"

Nor were the leaders of the democratic faction ignorant of the summons which our hero had received, or of the fact that he had not obeyed it. Johnston of Warriston, whose vocation it was, at every crisis that promised peace, to apply the highest pressure to the movement, now takes in hand his young chief, Lord Johnston, and in a letter composed of fanaticism, cajoling, and bullying, vehemently urges him not to remain a quiescent spectator of the fearful revolution, as he had hitherto been, but to join heart and hand with the faction of Argyle and the Kirk. Especially he entreats him to abstain from Court; and he thus makes his own use, and gives his own version, of the determination of Montrose:—

" Rather do nobly, as my noble Lord of Montrose has done; who, having received a letter from the King himself to go up with diligence to his Court, convened some of the nobility, shewed unto them both his particular affairs and the King's command, and then, according to his covenant of following the common resolution, and eschewing all appearances of divisive motion, nobly has resolved to follow their counsel, and has gone home to his own house, and will not go to Court at all."[1]

[1] From a transcript among the Wodrow manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, endorsed in Warriston's own hand, " Copye of my letter to Lord Johnston, 2d Januar 1640, befor his court voyage, for constancie in the cause." Lord Hailes, in his historical " Memorials," has printed a portion of this letter; but an error committed

Then the father of the Covenant himself, whose "canniness," as Baillie assures us, had "brought in" Montrose, was becoming much less *canny*, in a cause which had not yet brought him that wealth and aggrandizement which he soon had an opportunity of proving were the motives of his agitation. At this same crisis, between the prorogation of the Parliament in 1639, and its re-assembling in 1640, his violence was such as not a little to alarm even the Lord Advocate; in a private interview with whom, he so completely exposed his cards, as to cause that anomalous and grotesque functionary to relieve his agitated mind, by noting the instructive interview in his private diary. Rothes was intensely jealous of Traquair's present elevation, and very irate at the manner in which that trimming and uncertain statesman had excused himself to the King, at the expense of Rothes and his coadjutors. The following scene has not entered history.

Upon Tuesday, 14th January 1640, between eight and nine in the morning, the Earl of Rothes came to the Lord Advocate's chamber, and after mentioning that he had received a letter in favour of one George Cumming, pursued as a criminal, he thus entered upon the real object of his visit:—

"And thereafter he (Rothes) showed me a trinkett of paper, which he said he had drawn furth of a letter from England, from a good hand, which he read to this sense: 'I am sorry to write that there is a slap to come on the Advocate like as came the last year upon the Earl of Argyle, to draw up *super inquirendis*;[1] and therefore, if you have any interest in him, bid him beware of himself.'

"My answer was:—'My Lord, I care for nothing. I rest upon the Lord. Only I wish that God direct you who are noblemen, and that ye, on oath, seek the main point,—which

by the original transcriber had misled Hailes into giving 2d January 1639 as the date of the letter, which does not agree with the contents. He had not observed that the endorsation by Warriston gives the actual date, as above. Hailes' Memorials are unfortunately replete with blunders of transcription, which render them very unsafe for reference.

[1] See before, p. 110, where "Super Inquirendis" is explained in Lord Napier's note of a conversation with Charles I. This indicates the secret intelligence which the covenanting faction kept up with the faction in England.

is, *God's truth to be ratified*,[1]—and let the rest come as the Lord pleases.'

"He subjoined,—'That swinger, the Treasurer, has so calumniated the whole estates to his Majesty, that *albeit his Majesty would ratify all the acts*, we will not close till we get justice upon the traitor: And, if we get justice, we shall raze him out of the earth; and if it be denied, and there be war, we shall sweep his memory furth of the land, and ye shall be fully revenged upon him.'[2]

"I answered,—'My Lord, for God's cause let not revenge against him move you to neglect God's cause; and, for my revenge, I leave it to God.'

"He answered,—'We have got full intelligence that the King will never quit Bishops, but will have them in again.'

"I answered,—'My Lord, let no reports move you, but do your duty. Put his Majesty to it, and, if it be refused, then you are wytless (blameless). But if, on these reports, ye press *civil* points, his Majesty will make all Protestant Princes see that you have not religion for your end, but the *bearing down of monarchy*.'

"With this I convoyed him to the yett (gate), and I said,—'For God his cause, my Lord, have a care for ratifying religion; and let me be put to an essay in that, and ye shall see what I shall do or suffer for it.'

"He answered,—'We never doubted of you in that; but ye have been *far out of the way*, this time bygone, and we had never a thought to do you wrong.'

"I answered,—'I am more moved by one of your hard words nor (than) with all the prejudice can be done to me; and for *civil* points, *look never to have me to go with you*.'"

But, having thus nailed his colours to the mast of his own fanaticism, the Lord Advocate of Charles the First was as efficient a tool for the purpose of "bearing down the monarchy," as if he went as far in "civil points" as the wildest son of

[1] *i. e.* The Acts of Assembly declaring Episcopacy a thing unlawful in itself, and contrary to God's word. This doctrine the Advocate identified with "God's truth."

[2] This refers to a fracas which had recently occurred between the Advocate and the Commissioner. See note to p. 233.

democracy could desire. It was not, however, his irrational intolerance, that rendered the conduct of Sir Thomas Hope so little worthy of respect. The worldly and time-serving spirit, with which he clung to the office of "his Majesty's Advocate for his Majesty's interest," and struggled to promote his own interests and that of his sons with the King, while using the whole of this court influence as a destructive lever against the Throne, gradually brought his character into that disregard which even his covenanting coadjutors were not slow to evince, and to record. The great official who contrasts himself, in the above scene, so favourably with the free-spoken, reckless Rothes, scarcely retains that moral dignity in the pages of his clerical friend, the Reverend Robert Baillie. Three years thereafter, when actually representing his Sovereign, as Commissioner to the General Assembly which decreed the Solemn League and Covenant, the old and sapient jurisconsult (his real and only merit as a public character) is thus shewn up to that recording angel the reverend author of *Historia Motuum*:—"The *Moderator* and *Argyle* did so always *overawe* his Grace, that he made us not great trouble."—"He was so *wise*, and so well *dealt with by his two sons*, that he resolved to say nothing to the *Church* or *Country's* prejudice."

Yet, with all his plausibility, and the great advantage to him of the confusion of the times, he frequently fell under suspicion, and sometimes into disgrace. At the crisis of 1640, he had been ordered to confine himself to his own house of Craighall, "upon pretence," says Burnet, "of some petty malversation in office, but really because of his adhering to the Covenanters too much." This last not being the most faithful of chroniclers, when the Advocate's own diary comes to light, in the present day, we turn with some interest to that, in order to see what he himself says of the matter. Mighty little. Without comment, defensive or offensive, he records the fact of having been ordered to rusticate by his royal master—that he obeyed it, by retiring to Craighall, and refers mysteriously to "the remission of James Grant," as the cause. It is remarkable that he receives the alarming command on the evening of the day of his ominous conversation with Rothes. It was "the slap," the coming event, with an exaggerated intimation of which the mercurial

Earl had endeavoured to spur on the lagging official. That he was under suspicion at the time, we now also learn from Airth's report to the King, in that same letter, dated shortly before, in which honourable mention is made of the growing conservatism of Montrose:—

"Your Majesty," he writes, "commanded me to have a *watchful eye* over the actions of an *officer of state* here. I doubt not your Majesty doth remember of the man—and I have looked unto him; although they have need of many eyes who can well find out his ways: I do only perceive this much, that the Commissioner doth communicate to that man, and other two, *in private*, all the affairs; and the others are thereafter called to them."[1]

This worthy, however, was not condemned to his *otium cum indignitate* for a long period. When Traquair obtained his commission, under the great seal, to hold the Scotch Parliament, which had been prorogued to the month of June 1640, another commission, under the quarter seal, was issued to Lord Elphinstone, Lord Napier, the Lord Justice-Clerk, and the Lord Advocate, authorising any three of them to act in Traquair's absence, but upon "his order." When the diet arrived, however, it found Scotland still in open and armed rebellion. Traquair himself had been nearly murdered on the streets of Edinburgh when last there. So Charles did not choose to send down his High Commissioner to run such risks, or to have his

[1] There can be no doubt that this refers to Sir Thomas Hope. Argyle was not an officer of state, nor would the Earl of Airth have referred in such slighting terms to that great potentate. From the Advocate's own diary we learn that he was consulted at the time by Traquair, and that a month later than the date of Airth's letter, they had a stormy quarrel (to which Rothes also alludes in his subsequent conversation), which Sir Thomas thus notes: "16th October 1639, Wednesday.—This day I went to the Abbey, at seven hours in the morning, and there the Commissioner asked my opinion anent the act of Mensal Kirks, which I told in presence of Sir Lues Stewart, and reported to the Marquis of Huntly first, and then to the Lord Privy Seal. But when the matter was brought in dispute this day before noon, the Moderator, and Commissioners of the Kirk being present in a very great number, without any occasion offered by me, broke out violently in these speeches: '*By God, this man cares not what he speaks; for he speaks one thing to me privately, and even now in my ear, and another thing publicly, he is so impudent.*' Whereunto I made answer, and appealed to Sir Lues Stewart, who heard us in the morning, and also to the Lord Privy Seal, and Marquis of Huntly, who supervened after."

memory erased from the face of the earth, as Lord Rothes phrased it. Meanwhile, therefore, he transmitted a command to the Justice-Clerk to take the Lord Advocate along with him, and prorogate the Parliament, by virtue of the sub-commission. Burnet says that the King's Advocate "was glad both of being delivered from his disgrace, and for being honoured with the employment;" and that, when Parliament was convened, he moved Lord Elphinstone, as first named in the commission, to go up with them to the throne and execute the King's command. That nobleman, however, required to see Traquair's order. Hope urged the royal mandate as paramount; but Elphinstone would not depart from the letter of his commission. He then turned to Lord Napier, for aid in this emergency; but he also was far too precise and punctilious in all such matters, to be guided by anything but the terms of his own commission. The result was, that the Covenanting Parliament of June 1640, determined to sit without the royal authority at all; and they forthwith elected Lord Burleigh, a creature of Argyle's, to be their President.

But is this a Parliament at all? Are we not pronouncing the throne of Scotland vacant? These were questions which could not fail to obtrude themselves, and which accordingly occasioned an excited discussion at the outset of their proceedings. The leaders who undertook to silence these mutterings of the constitutional conscience, were Argyle, Rothes, Balmerino, and the notorious Procurator of the Kirk (a future peer in Cromwell's Parliament), Archibald Johnston. This last was particularly anxious for the sitting of a Parliament, one statute of which decreed him a thousand marks yearly for his services. Their trenchant argument was thus summed up: It is less unlawful for us simply to vote Lord Burleigh into the chair, than to declare King Charles no longer on the throne,—distinctly implying that there was no other alternative. Of the great majority of the nobility and gentry in this Convention, who in their hearts preferred the sovereignty of Charles to the dictatorship of Argyle, one man alone gave this impudent reasoning its proper name. They appear for the most part to have been swayed to and fro by the violence of the movement, like drunken men. Montrose grew steadier as the storm increased, and his

vision clearer. In the last Parliament he had made himself conspicuous by defending the prerogative, while he adhered to the Covenant. And now again he rose to grapple with these gigantic demagogues, the most powerful debaters, as they were the most virulent and unscrupulous agitators of the day. Fearlessly he answered their argument, denied its logic, and distinctly cried *treason*. That our hero had so acted upon this memorable occasion, is not left to be inferred merely from his subsequent conduct. Henceforth he was a doomed man in the hearts of Argyle and Warriston. As for Balmerino, he was but an old worn out stalking-horse of sedition. Then the pace was killing Rothes. This Earl had led off at score; but the Dictator had passed him, and the Procurator was challenging him, when suddenly he bolted, and never came again.[1]

When Warriston was with the Scotch commissioners in London, in 1641, about ten months after the above scene in the

[1] We may here take leave of the father of the Covenant. When at Court with the Scotch Commissioners in 1641, the spirit of his dream had entirely changed. Even Mr Brodie, an historian of the stamp to describe Montrose as one "bloated with iniquity," remarks of Rothes,—"An offer of a place in the Bed-chamber, and the promise of a great marriage, had so won him, that it is extremely probable, in spite of his professions to his old friends, a premature death alone rescued him from the disgrace of apostacy." In 1638 his "professions to his friends" were couched in these terms: "But God hath a great work to do here, as will be shortly seen, and men be judged by what is passed." In 1640 his professions to the Lord Advocate were, that no concessions of the King, in favour of what they called religion and liberties, would satisfy him, or stay his agitation against the monarchy, unless he obtained "justice on Traquair," which he explained to mean erasing the very memory of him from the face of the earth. But in 1641, the "great work," so far as he cared for it, had reached its consummation. In that year he writes, in deprecating and anxious terms, to Archibald Johnston,—"*Prepare* the Earl of Argyle, and Balmerino; for if I defer to *accept the place*, times are *uncertain*, and dispositions. If Argyle and Balmerino be *pleased*, then you may *labour* to move Lothian and Lindsay." And after a miserable attempt to excuse his venal retreat, and thrusting in one sentence of his old accustomed cant, he concludes,—"But this is an age of *unjust censuring*,"—and so saying, Rothes expired in the odour of "*canniness*." He became unexpectedly ill on the eve of the King's departure for Scotland, and died in obscurity at Richmond, 23d August 1641. There is some mystery attached to his rapid decline, about which his friends were very reserved. Clarendon alludes to it in doubtful, but deprecating terms, in favour of the deceased, who could make himself most agreeable as a boon companion. Laud, however, who had no idea of sparing this Bishop-killer, speaks out in his diary, and declares that he led so dissolute a life in London as to contract disease, which occasioned his unexpected retirement and death at Richmond. We have sometimes thought that when Mr Brodie used the very odd expression, that Montrose was "bloated with iniquity," he must have confounded him with Rothes.

Parliament, he wrote privately to the clique in Edinburgh, urging them to prepare some impeachment against Montrose, whom he conjectured to be the author of certain accusations of high treason, impending over the most conspicuous of their own number. He further imparts his suspicion that the accusation rested upon the speeches at the debate on the meeting of Parliament in June 1640; and he reminds his correspondents, how, upon that occasion, "Montrose *did dispute against* Argyle, Rothes, Balmerino, and myself; because some urged, that, *as long as we had a King*, we could not sit without him; and it was answered, that *to do the less* was more lawful than *to do the greater*."[1]

Montrose, however, was not so weak, nor so strong, as to attempt an impeachment, upon such grounds as expressions occurring during an excited debate, against the leaders of a too triumphant faction. But a variety of incidents, of a more determined character, which followed that debate in rapid succession, being the practical commentary on the text of this Convention, soon impelled him to more active opposition. These, indeed, were of a nature to leave no doubt on his mind that the "bearing down of the monarchy" was the immediate object of Argyle and the Kirk, while the great proportion of the bewildered nobility and gentry of Scotland were standing like stags at gaze. This nefarious intention, pursued under the mask of religion and liberty, Montrose determined to countermine. But he was constrained to proceed with the utmost caution. At the risk of his life, he had to work against the most powerful, and the most unscrupulous, "practising of a few," that ever tyrannised over a nation benumbed. We have now to trace the steps of his perilous path, until, entirely shaking off his ugly crysalis the Covenant, our hero emerged into the full light of loyalty, and staked and lost all,—

> "———— for a King
> Upon whose property, and most dear life,
> A damn'd defeat was made."

[1] *Original*, from Johnston of Warriston to Hepburn of Humbie, 20th April 1641; *Wodrow MSS.* So imperfectly had Lord Hailes printed his selections from this extraordinary secret correspondence, that his print of the above letter breaks off where the passage in our text commences. He must have employed a bad transcriber.

And this involved period of his story must be unravelled from a labyrinth of original documents, letters, and secret proceedings of inquisitorial committees, with which even the latest historians of Scotland were altogether unacquainted; and which to evolve in due order, and within a limited compass, is no easy task.

The lawless Parliament of 1640 adjourned from the 11th of June until the 19th of November, for the purpose of advancing the war levies. It organized a new constitution for Scotland, by the appointment of a monster Committee of Estates, one half of which was to attend the army, and the other to sit at Edinburgh. This Committee had unlimited powers, and at once placed Scotland without the pale of the Monarchy. A very distinct and curious account of the new government we may here extract from the manuscript of the parson of Rothiemay:—

"It will not be amiss to give some account of the Committee of Estates, and their power, as it was specified in this Parliament; because in the following year this new representative had the power of kings and parliaments engrossed in their persons and judicatories. The members of it were noblemen,—Rothes, *Montrose*, Cassils, *Wigton*, Dumfermline, Lothian,—Earls: For Lords were, Lindsay, Balmerino, Couper, Burleigh, *Napier*, *Lower:* Lords of Session were, Lord Dury, Lord Craighall, Lord Scotstarvet: Then followed Sir Thomas Nicholson of Carnock, lawyer, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wachton, Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, *Sir George Stirling of Keir*, Sir Patrick Murray of Elibank, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Little Preston, Sir William Cunningham of Caprington, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, James Chamber of Gadgirth, Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse,[1] *Drummond of Riccarton*, Laird of Lesley, Forbes, Mr George Dundas of Manner, John Smith, burgess of Edinburgh, Thomas Paterson, taylor, Richard Maxwell, sadler in Edinburgh, William Hamilton, burgess of Lithgow, Mr Alexander Wedderburn, clerk of Dundee, George Porterfield, bailie of Glasgow, Hugh Kennedy, bailie of Ayr, John Rutherfurd, pro-

[1] The Lord Advocate's second son.

vost of Jedburgh, Mr Alexander Jaffray, burgess of Aberdeen, in his absence, James Sword, burgess of St Andrews, and James Scot, burgess of Montrose. These were a mixed multitude; many heads here, but few statesmen, though all nominated to sit at the helm. Some of these *were known to favour the King*;[1] yet were nominated either to unmask them, or to debauch them by their concurrence against him; others added for their insufficiency, as knowing that they bore a zeal to the cause without knowledge; so the fitter for their ends; they were added as *ciphers* to the few *digital* statesmen who sat here, to make up number, and for the greater authority; and mainly to delude the simple ignorants, by making them believe that they had power and authority, when indeed they had but the name and *others the sway*. These were added, and augmented, and changed, or turned off, as the few ringleaders saw occasion in the following years, or as they found them faithful and forward, or growing cold or slack; and before the year turned round there intervened a foul rupture and schism amongst the principal members of this Committee. One thing was much remarked here by all men, that it shewed *much modesty and self-denial* in Argyle to be contented not to be preferred to this high honour. But all saw he was *major potestas;* and though not formally a member, yet all knew that it was his influence that gave being, life, and motion to these new-modelled governors; and not a few thought that this junto was his invention. If it were so or not, I determine not. A reason why he was not nominated, was his absence at this time in the Highlands, and his being employed much of this summer in waiting upon the supposed invasion of Strafford's army. Yet there was a door left open for him to enter the Committee whenever he pleased, both as an officer of the army, and upon the call of the Committee. For they had power to call any they pleased to assist them; so, albeit he was not nominated, yet he was included in the State Committee."

That the above is a true account of this Committee, whereof a clique usurped every function of government, and, by means of the lurking power of Argyle, and the factious abilities of a few others, commanded the Parliament of which they

[1] I have marked with Italics the names of those who were certainly of Montrose's party, and may be termed *conservative*.

professed to be the organ, will be amply proved even by the history of their proceedings against Montrose, to be presently unfolded.

While it was thus permitted to the potentate, Argyle, to wield the whole power of this unconstitutional Committee, although not placed upon it—a position which seemed to recognise him for Dictator already—Montrose could by no means evade an honour which was thrust upon him for the purpose of paralysing his opposition. Some loyal noblemen, indeed, such as the Marquis of Huntly, and Lord Ogilvy (about this time created Earl of Airlie), never having even signed the Covenant, could say for themselves that their loyalty was unqualified and uncontaminated. As the event shewed, that was but an empty boast. Every nobleman, or distinguished baron, in Scotland, who from the first took his stand against the democratic movement, and scorned to compromise his position by a single concession, became utterly useless. If he retired to his own domains, sooner or later he was the prey of the faction. If he fled to the King, as many of them did, his estates were seized, and his family ruined; while the fugitive became a burden upon the distracted and impoverished monarch, as Charles himself pathetically complained. If he quitted his country, the like ruin pursued his house, and he degenerated into a miserable exile. Hence, even Huntly, chief of the most chivalrous following in Scotland, and the highest example of uncompromising, unswerving loyalty, was lost to his country, to his King, and to himself. With just power enough to preserve his life, without seeking safety in undignified flight, the great Lord of Strathbogie, and the Bog of Gicht, never shewed better than a mere skulker, throughout the whole of the Troubles. His very loyalty merged in a morbid jealousy of Montrose, whom eventually he preceded to the scaffold, without having struck a single blow, in person, for the honour of his house, or the standing of the throne. This was grinning honour indeed. Lord Airlie, too, now advanced in years, had fled to the King, with clean hands, and a most loyal heart. The ruin in which his family and following were immediately involved, we shall presently see. But his eldest son, now Lord Ogilvy, remained at home to face the

storm he could not avert; and although ruin eventually fell on all, the gallant co-operation of father and son with Montrose, alone preserved the fame of the House of Airlie, as the heroic devotion of Lord Gordon did that of Huntly.

The position of Montrose was very different, and far superior. Never an intriguer for private and petty purposes, with the secret machinery of the first sordid outbreak of the Troubles, the grovelling incubation of the Covenant, he had nothing to do. That famous overture of the clerical opera having been performed, he appears upon the scene as the convert of the "canny" Rothes, and of one of his own parish ministers, specially deputed to "travail" with him to that effect. This indeed brought into practical operation his predisposition to condemn Episcopal domination in state affairs, and state offices. It also promoted the growth of those seeds of discontent, and suspicion, relative to the alleged intention of the King to reduce his native kingdom to an insignificant province, which had been sown in his heart by the artful conduct of Hamilton. The generous soil having been thus worked upon, we have seen with what ardour he engaged in the cause; how his military genius delighted in the occupation of arms, while the humanity of his heart tempered the cruelty of his instructions; how his impetuous disposition would brook no obstacle, while his fearless and truthful nature openly repudiated the creeping policy of the Covenant.[1] Thus he became involved in the headlong impetus of the movement, ere fully aware that the "prime Covenanters" had, to use his own expressions, "far designs unknown to us."[2] And although, when the scales began to fall from his eyes, in the Parliaments of 1639 and 1640, it was impossible for the Coriolanus of the Covenant abruptly to break away from that unholy alliance, he never for a moment disguised his sentiments, or masked his position. When, as we have seen, Charles I. commanded his presence, after the Parliament of 1639, he neither concealed from the King his desire and intention to be consistent in support of the national cause, so long as it was just; nor from his coadjutors his determination to support the Monarchy, against "the indirect practising of a

[1] See before, pp. 157, 158.

[2] See before, p. 223.

few." He was now placed on the national Committee of Scotland, arrayed against the Throne under the power of Argyle and the Kirk. He was appointed to organize and command two regiments, drawn from his patrimonial districts, and was under orders to join the new army with which Leslie was again commissioned to cross the borders. These employments, doubtless, were now most distasteful to him. Yet neither with safety nor honour could he at this crisis decline. He had already formally announced to his Sovereign his reasons for declining to become attached to the Court. Neutrality at home would have subjected him to persecution; a safe retreat abroad, to the upbraidings of his own conscience. But in this qualified adherence to the revolutionary government of Scotland there was no disguise and no deceit. In two successive Parliaments, he had publicly supported the prerogatives of the Crown against the extreme measures of those with whom he was still acting. And in this Parliament of 1640, by virtue of which he held his present appointments, he had given the dominant faction distinctly to understand his political principles, and the conditions upon which he condescended to be officer of theirs. He "argued against" Argyle, Rothes, Balmerino, and Johnston of Warriston; and he publicly repudiated the doctrine, that there was now no other alternative to sapping the foundations of the Monarchy, but that of effecting its immediate and violent overthrow. When the Covenanting Government, therefore, still demanded his presence in their councils and in the field, they knew from himself the precise value to them of those services. No public man in Scotland at this time occupied so high a moral elevation as the maligned Montrose.

Yet the prospect before him was dreary enough, and he felt it to be so. When he sheathed the sword of the Covenant at the bridge of Dee, the torch of that hallucination of his glory was extinguished for ever. Unless, to use a more homely phrase, he were now to *cut and run*, he had to gird himself for a most unequal and dangerous struggle with the power of Argyle. Clarendon, never well informed, and frequently careless in his record of the complicated state of matters in Scotland, absurdly enough characterised these two as the Cæsar and Pompey of their country. There is no accuracy in the illustration. It was

not a rivalry of heroic natures at all. It was the opposition of high and humane principle to an unscrupulous but skulking ferocity—a struggle, in fact, between virtue and vice. Montrose was fully aware of the jealous enmity which his successful career and humane conduct in the north had excited against him, in the minds of such as Argyle and Warriston, and their clerical whippers-in. He knew that so early as 1639 this clique were watching their opportunity to effect his destruction; an object which, owing to his honest and fearless nature, and high credit with the country, was not to be accomplished suddenly. This intention we learn from himself, by that indignant reply which he made to the monstrous libel prepared against him in 1641, an abusive farrago of puerile calumnies concocted by Archibald Johnston, and called an impeachment. Montrose's written defence, preserved in the archives of his family, but which has never entered history, dated at the commencement of the year 1642, concludes with this uncompromising defiance:—

"Then, if there were nothing else but one only, to prove the baseness and villany of all this libel, and that there is nothing else in it but abortive lies, *begot by old malice*—this may more than make it appear, that whereas *these two or three years ago* they have still had this infamous design; as I am able to make record, by noblemen, gentry, and others, amongst the most famous of all this kingdom: and that all men may be convinced to think that libel nothing but a rhapsody of forethought villany, it was boldly promised, *ere any of these particulars did fall out or occur* which they make now the pretence of this imprisonment,—*that my sword should be taken from my side before two months passed.*"

Before the occurrence of this nefarious prosecution, the nature and effect of which we shall presently have to record, the vexed spirit of the future champion of the Throne was longing to depart from the hopeless scene of Scotland's ruin and disgrace. After the Covenanters had crossed the Tweed in 1640, he so expressed himself to Colonel Cochrane, of whom we shall hear more anon, in a conversation with that officer at Newcastle. "The Earl of Montrose," says the Colonel, "told me he was desirous to follow the wars abroad, and wished the business were settled at home, that he might employ his talents that way." He also

complained that "he was a man envied, and all means were used to cross him."[1]

Such, however, was not the destiny of this devoted nobleman, whose career we have now to follow subsequent to the rising of the lawless Parliament of 1640.

In fulfilment of the duties of his false position, and under the orders of General Leslie and the army committee, Montrose immediately proceeded to levy his regiments, and to suppress all resistance on the part of the loyal in the shires of Perth and Angus. His committee or council of war was composed of the Earl of Kinghorn, Lord Couper, his own brother-in-law Lord Carnegie, all of whom commanded regiments of the kirk-militant, and some others. Their chief opponents in this direction were the loyal Ogilvys of the braes of Angus. Airlie Castle, the only strength in the district, had been fortified, and placed in a posture of defence by the Earl, who then went to seek the King, leaving his son Lord Ogilvy in command. The Committee of Estates had ordered that all private dwellings, fortified or capable of being so, should be reduced, and delivered into the hands of Government. At a great convocation of the shire of Angus, along with the covenanting commanders, Montrose was appointed commissioner to treat, in the name of all the rest, with Lord Ogilvy for the rendering of Airlie Castle. The district was in a state of great excitement and alarm; but the terror was not created by Montrose. It had become known that Argyle, with a numerous army of his Highlanders, was about to "take order" with this part of Scotland, from the braes of Athole to the braes of Angus; and all turned to the chief of the Grahams, as the commander in whose hands friends and foes preferred to be. He was specially requested not to remove the regiments under his command out of the district, until Argyle had passed. Baillie informs us, that the peculiar duty of this last was "to lie about Stirling, in the heart of the country, to be always ready in subsidies for unexpected accidents, to be a *terror to our neutralists*, or but *masked friends*."

[1] Deposition of Colonel John Cochrane, before Argyle and others, sitting as a committee on the process against Montrose in 1641. *Original*, among the Wodrow MSS., *Advocates' Library*.

And Montrose himself states, in reply to the ridiculous charge, in the process of 1641, of "slowness in bringing up his regiments," that, among many other impediments, there was that "occasioned by Argyle's expedition with his Highlanders through those shires, which did so affright and terrify the people there, who feared for their homes, that they were most unwilling to suffer the regiments"—meaning the regiments of Montrose—"to remove until they had escaped that occasion: likeas, the Committee of Perth directed a letter to the Committee of Estates, desiring that those regiments might be kept in the country until the Highlanders were passed."[1]

Under pressure of the same alarm—for Argyle was notoriously inimical to the Ogilvys—the local committee appointed Montrose to effect the reduction of Airlie Castle, ere it should fall into the hands of the ruthless potentate. For the manner in which he accomplished this hostile and unpleasant mission, we can now refer the reader to the deposition of Lord Ogilvy himself. When interrogated at the instance of Argyle, by order of the Committee of Estates, in 1641, for the purpose of preparing the charges against Montrose, that he had dealt too leniently by the House of Airlie, had interfered with the commission of Argyle, and had suffered Lord Ogilvy to escape,—the latter answered with becoming dignity, spirit, and candour. He deponed, that the precise date of any commission granted to Argyle did not consist with his knowledge: "But," he adds, "as I do remember, I received intelligence from my Lord Lindsay[2] of some such commission, a day or two before that convocation of the shire of Angus, near my house of Airlie, at which the Earl of Montrose was present, with Kinghorn, Couper, and sundry others; and any meeting I had with Montrose was as commissioner in the name of the rest, then convened to treat with me for rendering of my house; but as for any other meetings we had none, before nor after." And to other interrogatories, the meanness of which bears the impress of Argyle,—whether Montrose had counselled him to leave the place—whether the Earl had men lying about the house of Airlie, and

[1] Montrose's Replies to the libel against him in 1641; quoted before.

[2] Hamilton's brother-in-law, and Montrose's hunting companion at college: See before, p. 50.

upon what conditions these men were dismissed—and whether Montrose had given Ogilvy advice and permission to empty the house of all moveables of any value,—the latter made answer, that, as to their military arrangements, "I am altogether ignorant, for I was never accessory to their counsels of war:" as to the advice to quit the house, Ogilvy denied that Montrose "gave any counsel to leave the house, but he did still insist and deal that I should render it, and engage in the public service:" And with regard to removing the articles of value, "neither gave he (Montrose) such advice, nor did I stand in need of his permission, neither did I empty my house at all: But this much I know, I did render my house to the Earl of Montrose for the use of the public; *neither would he accept of it upon any other terms.*"[1]

Having, in this quiet and gentleman-like manner, accomplished the surrender of "the bonnie house of Airlie," our hero, upon whom the whole district was leaning for protection against the advent of Argyle, wrote to the dreaded chief, that it was unnecessary for him to enter the shire of Angus with his forces, as its only stronghold, Airlie Castle, had been surrendered at discretion, and was now garrisoned for the public, under Colonel Sibbald, one of Montrose's officers. This occurred about the end of June 1640, when our Earl marched with the troops under his command, to join Leslie's army now hanging on the borders.

Intense was the rage of Argyle at these proceedings. Having played certain pranks in the braes of Athole, to which we must presently recur, he hastened to indulge his vindictive feelings against the Ogilvys in Angus, but found that he had arrived a day behind the fair. At the head of his magnificent body of western Highlanders, four thousand strong, down came the chief, who never dared to face a foe, upon the bonnie braes of Angus, in the beginning of the month of July. But Lord Ogilvy, who had treated with Montrose, saw reason to decline a meeting with Argyle. He had quitted Airlie Castle two days before his arrival. Colonel Sibbald, the officer left in charge for "the public," remonstrated against the interference of the Dic-

[1] *Original*, in the Montrose Charter-room.

tator. But Argyle was too strong for him, and the garrison of Montrose had to turn out. The state of Gillespic Gruamach's feelings, when he found little in the deserted halls of Airlie to satisfy either his avarice or his vengeance, will be best understood by the following letter, addressed to the head of a distinguished branch of the Ogilvys, whom it seems he had immediately summoned to meet him at the castle:—

"Loving Friend,

"Since your parting from this, I have got certain information that my Lord Ogilvy is this night in your house; for the which cause I could do no less than direct a company to lie about your house till it be searched, whereat I entreat you to take no exceptions, for I do noways doubt you: Only I will give you this warning, that if you press to conceal my Lord Ogilvy in your house at this time, it will be more to your prejudice than you are aware of: And so I hope you will be wise. The gentleman that is commander of this company is Colin Campbell, Calder's son. So, referring this to your consideration, I rest,

"Your affectionate Friend,

"ARGYLE."

"From my Camp at Airlie, 7 July 1640.

"For my loving friend the Laird of Innerquharitie."[1]

This characteristic epistle, the affection of which was doubtless estimated at its true value by the then representative of the ancient and loyal house of Innerquharity, may be taken as a small specimen of that "tyranny of subjects" from which it became the object of Montrose to redeem his country. The chief of the Campbells now played the part of victor after his kind.

"It fell on a day, a bonnie summer day,
When the aits grew green and early,
That there fell out a great dispute
Between Argyle and Airlie."

[1] *Original*, in the charter-chest of Sir John Ogilvy of Innerquharity, Bart. The Sir John Ogilvy to whom the above letter is addressed, was the first Baronet of this very ancient branch of the clan. He was living very quietly at the time, and

So says the old song. But it was only with stone walls, carved wood, baronial plenishing, farmers' stock, green plantations, poor tenants' huts and fields, that Inverary's lord did battle. "Argyle," says the mournful Spalding, "most cruelly and inhumanly enters the house of Airlie, and beats the same to the ground; and right so he does to Forthar;[1] then *spuilzied* all the inside plenishing within both houses; and such as could not be carried, they masterfully broke down, and pitifully destroyed: Thereafter they fell to his ground; plundered, robbed, and took away from himself, his men, tenants, and servants, their whole goods and gear, corns, cattle, horse, nolt, sheep, inside plenishing, and all which they could get; and left nothing but bare bounds of such as they could consume, or destroy, or carry away with them; and such as could not be carried, was despitefully burnt up by fire." Thus, it was remarked, Argyle was the first to raise fire in Scotland, that sad characteristic of the Troubles; and he did so, not in the prosecution of a great campaign, or for the subjugation of a powerful foe in arms, but when no state policy required the example, when no power opposed, and no provocation justified the severity. His conduct at Forthar was yet more disgraceful, and we shall record it in the words of another contemporary historian:—

"There was likewise another dwelling, belonging to Airlie's eldest son, the Lord Ogilvy, called Forthar, where his lady sojourned for the time: This house, though no strength, behoved to be *slighted* (defaced); and although the Lady Ogilvy, being great with child at the time, asked licence of Argyle to stay in her own house till she was brought to bed, that could not be obtained; but Argyle causes expel her, who knew not whither to go. The Lady Drum, dame Marian Douglas, who lived at that time at Kelly, hearing tell what extremity her grandchild, the Lady Ogilvy, was reduced to, did send a commission to Argyle, to whom the said Lady Drum was a kinswoman, requesting that, with his licence, she might admit into her own house her

engaged as little as possible in the Troubles. A few years afterwards, his eldest son, a college youth, was executed, without a shadow of justice, at the *affectionate* fiat of Argyle.

[1] Another dwelling of the family in Glenisla, which had been made Lord Ogilvy's family residence.

own grandchild, the Lady Ogilvy, who at that time was near her delivery; but Argyle would give no licence. This occasioned the Lady Drum to fetch the Lady Ogilvy to her house of Kelly, and to keep her there upon all hazard that might follow. Yet though Argyle would not consent thereunto, he had no face to quarrel afterwards with this generous matron upon that account, she being universally known to have been as eminently virtuous and religious as any lady in her time.[1]

"At such time as Argyle was making havoc of Airlie's lands, he was not forgetful to remember old quarrels to Sir John Ogilvy of Craig, cousin to Airlie. Therefore he directs one Serjeant Campbell to Sir John Ogilvy's house to slight it. The serjeant coming thither found a sick gentlewoman there, and some servants; and looking upon the house with a full survey, returned without doing anything, telling Argyle what he had seen, and that Sir John Ogilvy's house was no strength at all, and therefore he conceived that it fell not within his order to cut it down. Argyle fell in some chafe with the serjeant, telling him that it was his part to have obeyed his orders; and instantly commanded him back again, and caused him deface and spoil the house. At the serjeant's parting with him, Argyle was remarked by such as were near, to turn away from Serjeant Campbell with some disdain, repeating the Latin political maxim, *Abscindantur qui nos perturbant;* a maxim which many thought he practised *accurately*, and which he did upon account of the proverb consequential thereunto, and which is the reason of the former, which Argyle was remarked to have likewise often in his mouth, as a choice aphorism, and well observed by statesmen, *Quod mortui non mordent.*"[2]

[1] Lord Ogilvy,—of whom the anecdote has been narrated above (p. 66), that he thought of marrying the lady who became Countess of Montrose, but that their loves were crossed by an unlucky stream,—was subsequently married to Helen Ogilvy, eldest daughter of George first Lord Banff.

[2] These murderous aphorisms are quite in keeping with the whole conduct of Argyle, of whom Clarendon says, "that he was a man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his estate and authority, a very great interest in Scotland; yet he had no martial qualities, nor the reputation of more courage than *insolent and imperious persons*, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have."—*Hist.* v. 92.

Not satisfied with this successful campaign, the potentate now attempted his first *impeachment* of Montrose. He arraigned him upon articles drawn up by himself, to be tried by a court-martial, under the commander-in-chief. Leslie was a cool, calculating commander, essentially of the mercenary school, and so proved a most ungrateful peer. But he was a soldier and a man. Such an absurd charge as this, against the best and noblest soldier of the Covenant, that cruelty had not been perpetrated where even severity was unnecessary, found no favour in the sight of the "little crooked old soldier, Felt Marshal Leslie, his Excellence." Montrose obtained from him, and the military Committee of Estates, an approval of all his proceedings at Airlie Castle, under a formal deed of exoneration. When, in the following year, the very same charge was repeated, amid the other trash raked up against him by Argyle and Warriston, our hero met it with this reply:—

"And as touching my intelligence with the Lord Ogilvy, it is—with all the former suitable—*false:* For whatever I did in that kind was by the desire, and entreaty, and orders of the whole shire (of Angus): which I already instructed before the General himself, in hearing of the Committee; being accused upon articles directed by Argyle, who was at that time lying about Airlie with young Lawers and Archibald Campbell; and I have a standing act of Committee in my own behalf, and exoneration in all those particulars."[1]

Among the many illustrations of his biography, and of the times, which we have been so fortunate as to bring to light, the act of exoneration referred to by Montrose himself has not been discovered. It was obviously, however, an exoneration from the consequences of "too great lenity in sparing the enemy's houses,"—his original sin against the Kirk. Among his family papers, we have discovered a contemporary copy of another exoneration, which had hitherto been overlooked. Singularly enough, it turns out to be the act of exoneration which Argyle considered it necessary to obtain, from "Our Sovereign Lord, and Estates of Parliament," in reference to these very transactions. The contrast is characteristic and instructive.

[1] Replies to the Libel of 1641; Montrose Charter-room.

Had it been placed under the eye of Clarendon, that great historian, in all probability, would have withdrawn his parallel of Cæsar and Pompey. Argyle's exoneration was to protect him from the consequences of his inhumanity. The document is important, moreover, as embodying the precise terms of a commission of fire and sword, which he had contrived to obtain for himself at the rising of the last Parliament; the crossing of which commission at Airlie had so greatly exasperated him against Montrose. He boasted, indeed, that the latter himself had authorised that commission, as one of the great Committee of Estates under whose signatures it passed. And doubtless the power of "King Campbell," as already he began to be called, is strikingly evinced by the fact, that, for his own private ends and animosities, he was allowed to arm himself with such a weapon.[1]

It ran in the name of the Committee of Estates, with consent of the General commanding in chief. The preamble set forth, that it was most necessary, for the weal of religion, and peace of the country, that all the *intestine enemies* thereof should be suppressed, and if possible brought in as one Christian flock to the Kirk,—"or otherwise to go against them, *to their utter rooting out*, in all hostile manner." The Commission then proceeds to particularise the Earl of Athole and Lord Ogilvy, with their accomplices and abettors, as well in Athole as in the braes of Angus, the Farquharsons of Braemar, and their following, and

[1] "Argyle took charge of the Highlands, both because there was greatest suspicion of this from thence, and of their correspondence with Strafford, or his associates, and next because Argyle's own following consisted chiefly of Highlanders. But the chief cause, though least mentioned, was Argyle's spleen that he carried upon account of former disobligements betwixt his family and some of the Highland clans. Therefore he was glad now to get so fair a colour of revenge upon the public score, which he did not let slip. Another reason he had beside: It was his design to swallow up Badenoch and Lochaber, and some lands belonging to the Macdonalds, a numerous tribe, haters of, and equally hated by Argyle. He had got some hold upon Lochaber and Badenoch the last year, 1639, as a cautionary pledge for some of Huntly's debts, for which he was become engaged as cautioner to Huntly's creditors. By this means his title was legal, in case of breach of condition by Huntly; yet at this time he could not pretend so much against Huntly: Therefore this expedition against those Highlanders was prosecuted for advancement of his private design," &c.—*James Gordon's Hist. of Scots Affairs.*—These facts enter deeply into the history of Montrose's victories in 1645.

all the loyally inclined in Badenoch, Lochaber, and Rannoch, as being enemies to the religion and liberties of their country, and unnaturally arrayed against Kirk and Kingdom. For remedy whereof, there is granted to the said Earl of Argyle full power and commission to rise in arms against these noblemen and loyalists, "and to pursue them and every one of them, aye and until he should either bring them to their bounden duty, and to give assurance for the same by pledges or otherwise,—or else to the utter subduing, and rooting them out of the country; and for that effect to levy and draw together, in one or more bodies as he should think fit, such numbers of men within the sheriffdom of Argyle in arms as he should find sufficient for the said employment."

In addition to these powers, he was authorised to make his campaign pay itself, by intromitting with the rents and the goods of whomsoever he judged to be "opposites to the common cause." And the manner in which he exercised this tremendous lever of oppression, and his movements at the time, is thus narrated generally, in the deed of exoneration, by Gillespic Gruamach himself:—

"By virtue of which commission, and faithful discharge thereof, the said Earl of Argyle, after his acceptation of the same, did rise in arms, and levy and draw out together, the number of four thousand men in arms, whose rendezvous was in Inverary, and Clanchardysert in Glenorchie, the 18th day of the said month of June 1640 years: And went therefrom to the fields, through the bounds and parts of Athole, Braes of Angus, Brae of Mar, Badzenoch, Lochaber, and Rannoch: And was abroad in the fields, with the said army in arms, in executing of the said commission, from the said day of rendezvous above written, continually, until the second day of August next thereafter that he returned home, by the space of forty-four days: Continually during all that space doing his exact diligence to bring the foresaid persons and others within the bounds foresaid to their bounden duty and *conformity;* and to suppress them that they trouble not the peace of the country; and did divers acts and facts for that effect; whereby the said Earl of Athole, and the men of Athole, and divers other great clans, and other persons, were brought to conformity and made

to find caution, and give bonds and pledges, to keep peace and good order, and to compear and answer before the Committee; and others that were disobedient, and who would not so do, were forced to fly, and their houses *slapped* and *slighted*, others demolished and burnt.

"And the said Earl of Argyle, as commissioner foresaid, gave out several warrants and commissions for taking order with some persons that fled and came not in to give their obedience: And before he quitted the fields, he left sundry garrisons, both in the fields and in houses belonging to some of the said enemies, for keeping of the peace of the country, who remained therein for the space of several weeks and months thereafter.

"Likeas there were divers other deeds done by the said Earl of Argyle and his army, during the said space, for settling of the said disorders in those parts, and bringing of the people thereof to conformity, in manner at length particularly and specially mentioned and set down in a particular report made by the said Earl of Argyle, in execution of his commission, first given in by the said Earl of Argyle to the foresaid Committee from the Estates, and to the General at the castle of Dunse, the 15th day of the said month of August, the said year 1640; and duly ratified and approved by them *that same day*, as the said report or account made to the said General, and ratification and allowance thereof granted by the said Committee of Estates, of the date foresaid, at more length bears.

"Likeas the said Earl of Argyle has given a particular account of all the victual and goods, either furnished to the army by the under commissaries, or taken by the said army for their maintenance, or meddled or intromitted with by the said Earl of Argyle, or by any of his commanders, or by the army by his order and direction, of the goods and gear of those who were refractory and disobedient; as the particular account, duly fitted by the auditors of the common burdens of this kingdom, upon the 3d day of April last bygone, and ratified and approved by the said Committee of Estates resident at Edinburgh, by their act of the date 8th day of the same month of April."

Then follows a sweeping ratification and approval of all these deeds and acts, and a complete exoneration of Argyle, his heirs

and successors, from all question or pursuit, criminal or civil, on account thereof; for any violence whatsoever done to the liberty of the subject, or freedom taken with their property, houses, or castles; or "for burning of the same, and putting of fire thereinto, or otherways destroying the same howsoever; or by *putting of whatsomever person or persons to torture or question*, or *putting of any person or persons to death*, at any time betwixt the 18th day of June 1640 and the said second day of August next thereafter."

And this very necessary bill of indemnity is made to run, not merely in the name of the Estates of Parliament, but of "Our Sovereign Lord,"—King Charles,—against the peace of whose subjects, the laws of whose realm, the standing of whose throne, and the safety of whose person, this heartless rebel had been at work for forty-four days! Whoever enjoys the picturesque, and would gratify the feeling without a pang of regret, let him study Argyle's Exoneration, and go visit the ruins of Castle Campbell. It was from the braes of Athole that Scotland's King *de facto* had descended upon the braes of Angus. He boasts that "the Earl of Athole, and the men of Athole, were brought to conformity, and made to find caution, and give bonds and pledges." From other contemporary and neglected sources, we must now illustrate that sentence, under which lurk events that directly connect with the whole meteor career, and awful destiny of Montrose; events, too, which ere long reduced the power of the wily potentate himself to the dust; turned into a howling wilderness his fair and wide-spread domains; merged the proud galleys of his dishonoured shield in blood; and destroyed the pretensions and the prestige of the great clan of Diarmed for ever.

CHAPTER XIV.

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS WHICH INDUCED MONTROSE TO FRAME HIS CONSERVATIVE BOND AT CUMBERNAULD—PLANS OF ARGYLE TO OBTAIN THE SOVEREIGN POWER IN SCOTLAND—HIS BOND FOR CANTONING THE COUNTRY—ATTEMPT TO ENGAGE MONTROSE THEREIN—ARGYLE'S PROCEEDINGS IN THE BRAES OF ATHOLE BEFORE HIS RAID AGAINST THE BRAES OF ANGUS—BREAKS HIS PAROLE TO THE EARL OF ATHOLE AND OTHERS, WHOM HE MAKES PRISONERS—TREASONABLE PROCEEDINGS AT THE FORD OF LYON, AND BALLOCH CASTLE—MONTROSE JOINS LESLIE AT THE BORDER—OBTAINS AN ACT OF EXONERATION FOR HIS CONDUCT IN ANGUS, IMPEACHED BY ARGYLE—REFUSES TO SIGN THE PRIVATE BOND APPOINTING ARGYLE TO RULE BENORTH FORTH—HIS OWN ACCOUNT OF THAT AFFAIR—HIS CONVERSATION ON THE SUBJECT WITH LORD LINDSAY OF THE BYRES—TREASONABLE COINCIDENCES OF THE SAME KIND OCCURRING ELSEWHERE—HIS CONSERVATIVE BOND AT CUMBERNAULD—RETURNS TO THE ARMY ON THE BORDER—IS THE FIRST TO CROSS TWEED WITH THE ARMY—WRITES TO THE KING—FATE OF HIS LETTER—HIS DEFENCE OF IT—ARGYLE DISCOVERS THE CUMBERNAULD BOND—FATE OF THAT CONSERVATIVE MEASURE—POSITION OF MONTROSE AT THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1640, AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1641.

ALTHOUGH the power and artful management of Argyle had enabled him to obtain the formal sanction of the Committee of Estates to the commission we have just examined, there can be little doubt that he was the author of it himself. Various plans for usurping the sovereign sway in Scotland were at this time cautiously and secretly mooted by the wily chief. He was feeling his way to the theft of a throne with all the art characteristic of his talents, backed by the powerful aid derived from the complete devotion to his purposes of the most evil spirits of the Kirk. The first idea started was, that the deposing of the King should be at once accomplished, by the elevation of Argyle to be *Dictator* in Scotland, according to the classic model. So bold a proposition creating some alarm among the conspirators, the next whisper was, that there should be "one General within

the country, as there was one without the country;" the home department, of course, falling to the share of Argyle. This also seeming to be rather too large a division of the cake not to meet with formidable opposition, the plan was so far modified, that the country was to be ruled by a military *Triumvirate*,—one to command benorth the Forth, and two besouth. But each and all of these schemes involved the main design, that the sovereign power in Scotland was to be taken from King Charles, and bestowed upon Argyle in one or other of the above forms of military despotism. The community at large, and, generally speaking, the Committee of Estates, were ignorant of these precise propositions and designs; although indeed that chief and his coadjutors had endeavoured, in the Parliament of June 1640, *dissentiente* Montrose, to render the public mind familiar with the idea of immediately deposing the King. But the head conspirator was now busy framing a variety of bonds, or national engagements, without the knowledge or concurrence either of Parliament or Committee, by which the lieges were to swear fidelity and fealty to him, Argyle, for the sake of what he called "doing their duty in the public." Matters had been brought to this pass in Scotland, that there was in reality no government at all; and so the country was a prey to any underplot of the kind, conceived by the most powerful, and the most unscrupulous, for their own private ends.

About the time when Argyle contrived to strengthen his hands by that outrageous commission of fire and sword, another commission was framed, privately, under his own direction, for establishing the military *Triumvirate* above alluded to. The manner of its concoction came to be known to Montrose, through Archibald Campbell, brother to Sir James Campbell of Lawers, who was present and consulted upon the occasion of framing this extraordinary document. We shall give the facts in the words of Montrose himself:—

"As for the *encantoning* of the country, Archibald Campbell was present at the time when there was a commission drawn up for the rule benorth Forth; and, because the Earl of Montrose's interest was in those parts, he was not pleased with it;[1] and

[1] This means that *Archibald Campbell* was not pleased with it. Montrose was unconscious of any such scheme, until the commission was presented to him some

therefore it was written over again, the Earl of Montrose's name was put in it, and a new meeting appointed to treat upon it; and that this was before the Earl of Montrose's voyage to the north."[1]

"The Earl of Montrose remits the tenor of the bond[2] to the Earls of Mar and Cassilis, Archibald Campbell, and Mr Adam Hepburn; and, for what his Lordship remembers, the Earl of Argyle was named in it either absolute General, or General Commander, and that the noblemen were to be of his committee."

The effect of such a deed exclusive of Montrose, would just have been equivalent to a commission of "fire and sword" against his possessions, like what had been procured by the same stealthy potentate against those of Athole and Airlie. The suggestion of Archibald Campbell was no doubt very unpalatable, but could not be resisted either with decency or safety. Montrose, as we shall presently find, possessed considerable influence with a large section of the nobility, who, like himself, had accepted military commands in the army now on the border, but were inclined to qualify and limit their opposition to the measures of the Court, and their apparent hostility to the King, with those loyal principles upon which our hero publicly took his stand in the two last Parliaments. The

time afterwards for his approbation and signature. Archibald Campbell, a confidential agent of Argyle, was brother to Sir James Campbell of Lawers, and uncle to Loudon.

[1] Meaning, most probably, Montrose's last trip to Perthshire and Angus, after the rising of the Parliament in June 1640. The bond or commission in question could hardly have been framed so early as before his expedition against Aberdeen in 1639.

[2] Meaning the commission of which Archibald Campbell had obtained a modification in Montrose's favour. The noblemen who were eventually named as Argyle's committee, under this bond or commission, appear to have been Mar, Cassilis, and Montrose; with whom was joined Adam Hepburn of Humbie, a prime Covenanter and great committee man: he was the confidential correspondent of Warriston, when this last was agitating with the Scotch Commissioners in England; See before, p. 236. The above statement by Montrose is from the original record of his declaration before a Committee of Estates, when examined on the subject in presence of Argyle, 27th May 1641. It has been preserved in the Wodrow Collection, Advocates' Library, and is endorsed, "27 May 1641, Earl of Montrose's Declaration anent what passed betwixt his Lordship and Mr Robert Murray;" and is signed by Balmerino, as president of that committee.

insertion of his name, however, as a party to this new scheme of dividing Scotland into cantons, Argyle to have the sway benorth Forth, required to be communicated to himself; and the result of that dangerous tampering will presently appear.

This transaction occurred, unknown to Montrose, prior to his own operations in the shires of Perth and Angus in the month of June 1640. It was about the middle of that month when the chief of the Campbells marched with his four thousand claymores to take order, as he called it, with the Stewarts of Athole, prior to his vicious raid against the Ogilvys of Angus. The Earl of Athole, loyal to the heart's core, hastily assembled what force he could make to oppose the invader, who had encamped at the ford of Lyon. This was near Balloch Castle, now so well known as Taymouth, an ancient seat of the Campbells of Glenorchy. That potent laird himself was one of Argyle's chief captains upon this occasion, along with Mungo Campbell, younger of Lawers, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, which last commanded the body-guard of their fearful chief. No better captains than these ever wielded the broadsword, or inspired the pibroch. The loyal Earl to whom they were opposed, could muster no more than twelve hundred men of Athole. But with these he bravely took the field, and encamped over against the Campbells, who were more than three to one.

Now, Gillespic Gruamach was not a man to avoid fighting from motives of humanity. He had no distaste for that species of warfare which he termed pursuing his enemies "in all hostile manner with fire and sword, to the utter subduing and rooting them out of the country." But this meant, only when the fighting portion of the enemy were certainly not at home, and there was no chance of battle. The very commission upon which he now stood, which he had procured and framed for himself, directed that threat as expressly against the Earl of Athole as against the Earl of Airlie. But now that he had before him, in hostile array, the chief of the men of Athole, and at such disadvantage, he declined to cross claymores. He was not ashamed to be seen, hammer in hand, smashing the carved lintels, cornices, and pillars of the "bonnie house of Airlie," sweating at his work like an old carpenter or mason; but to find him sword in hand, was what

he never would consent that an enemy should do. Upon the present occasion, therefore, he first kidnapped his loyal opponent, and then proceeded to hold treasonable discourses, and press treasonable bonds.

Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartin, an ancient branch of the stock of Airlie, and brother-in-law to the Earl of Athole, happened to be at Balloch Castle; and upon Argyle's assurance to him that the loyal Earl would be safe to come and free to go at his pleasure, the latter accompanied Inchmartin to Argyle's tent, attended by eight gentlemen of distinction belonging to the braes of Athole. Among these were Sir Thomas Stewart younger of Grandtully, and John Stewart younger of Ladywell. Argyle, it seems, besides the main scheme which he kept in reserve, waiting for the sanction of Montrose, had his pocket full of bonds, obligations and engagements of all sorts and sizes; the drift being the same throughout, to bind the lieges in fealty to him, instead of to the Crown.[1] This was the machinery with which he now worked against the gallant loyalists

[1] Even with the Kirk and the covenanting government entirely subservient to him, when the storm raised by the opposition of Montrose to all these transactions was at its height in 1641, Argyle had great difficulty in giving a decent colour to his own defence against the notorious fact. He produced in defence as many bonds as he pleased to acknowledge, and no more. Nor were the public ever allowed to be cognizant of the precise terms even of such bonds as he did produce. He never ventured to call for or produce the bond or commission to which Montrose's signature was required. Nor did he attempt to exculpate himself in this manner before Parliament, but only to a *committee* consisting of three of his own devoted friends, Balmerino, Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse (the Advocate's second son), and Edward Edgar (for the burghs), a mere cypher. Balmerino and Hope were tainted with the very same imputations against themselves; and of course they whitewashed Argyle. But even the partial record of the bonds which Argyle chose to produce, as having been all pressed by him in Athole, of dates 2d and 3d July 1640, has a most suspicious air:—

"15th June 1641.—The Earl of Argyle produced six bonds, one whereof by the feuars and tenants of Badenoch, for payment of their duties; another for doing their *duty in the public;* a third by the men of the Brae of Mar and others, for doing their *duty in the public;* a fourth by the Baron of Broachly and others *anent the public;* a fifth of the Lord Ogilvy's friends *anent the public;* and a sixth of the men of Athole and others for doing their *duty in the public;* whereof two of them are acknowledged by Mr John Stewart to be the bonds mentioned by him in his deposition last May 1641."—*Original,* Wodrow MSS.

This proves at least the extensive dealing of the Earl of Argyle in bonds, pressed of his own authority upon the lieges in support of "the cause," which cause considered his Majesty as "the enemy."

whom he thus held in a hose-net. The Earl of Athole desired to return with his followers to his own camp, to consider the substance of his conference with Argyle. The result must be given in the words of Bishop Guthrie, who had the facts from those who were present, not many months after the event occurred :—

" But having passed his inner guards, when they came to the outward guard they were stopped; whereupon they returned to the Earl's tent to complain; but he replied, ' That his guard was wiser than himself: he being to lie that night at Glenorchy's house, it was fit they should go with him and there confer at length:' And that compliment being passed, he told them plainly they were his prisoners; and when they replied, ' That they came thither upon his assurance, signified to them by the Laird of Inchmartin, which they hoped he would not violate,'— he answered, ' That he was not to debate with them thereanent, but would be accountable for his deportment in that affair to those from whom he had his commission:' So, without more ado, he commanded them to send an order to their people to disband, which was done; and they themselves kept that night as prisoners at Balloch, and next day sent with a convoy to the Earl of Perth, Stewart of Strathern, requiring him to send them to Stirling, which he did; from thence they were conveyed to Edinburgh, where for some days they were imprisoned, until they gave assurance of their good behaviour, and then they were enlarged, and permitted to return home. And as they were very sensible of the trick which Argyle had put upon them, in drawing them to his tent upon assurance, and afterwards flinching from it, so the same wronged his credit exceedingly, in the judgment of all men that looked indifferently upon it, and made his parole afterwards to be little regarded. But he cared for none of these things, and so began his march downwards to the braes of Angus."[1]

[1] There can be no doubt of the accuracy of these details. Not only had both Montrose and Guthrie the whole history of the affair from the Earl of Athole himself, but Guthrie was the clergyman who, when the unfortunate John Stewart of Ladywell, whom Argyle brought to the block for his revelations on the subject, was about to suffer, attended that victim for many hours before his death, and had all the facts from his dying lips.

It is well for the loyal and royal Taymouth, that the name and walls of Balloch Castle have passed away. Those walls had ears, as the event proved, and well might they be startled with the sounds they now heard. In one corner was Gillespie Gruamach discoursing grimly of the reasons for which a King might be deposed, and giving his version of the inclination of the Parliament which had just separated, to depose their own. A cautious epitome of that discourse was noted down by Sir Thomas Stewart of Grandtully, and by him delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart, for the information of Montrose, as quoted below.[1] In another corner was Archibald Campbell, busy with Stewart of Ladywell, and bullying him with the threat, "that if the said Archibald had eight days time, he would get as much against the Earl of Athole as might endanger his life and estate, which *the Earl of Argyle had in his pocket.*"[2] Again was heard "another discourse that Argyle spoke at Balloch, affirming that some of his predecessors were Earls of Athole, and that, as Athole alleges, Argyle said *he was the eighth man from Robert the Bruce.*" Then the retainers' hall was ringing with the psalm of a Gaelic bard, the burden of which, when translated, ran thus: "Glory be to Argyle, because all men see it is truth—he will enrich us with the spoil of the Sassenach—

[1] "The Earl of Argyle, being in his own tent at the ford of Lyon, declares that, he being in Edinburgh at the Parliament (June 1640), it was agitated there whether or not a Parliament might be holden without the King or his Commissioner: At last it was resolved, by the best divines and lawyers in the kingdom, that a Parliament might be holden without either the King or his Commissioner; and that a King might be deposed, being found guilty of any of these three: The first, *Venditio*, 2. *Desertio*, 3. *Invasio*.

"At Edinburgh, 19 June 1641:—Sir Thomas Stewart being questioned in presence of the Committee, whether this paper was written by himself, and if it was the paper delivered by him to Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart, declares that this paper is all written with his own hand, and that it was the same was delivered by him to the said Lieutenant-Colonel at their meeting at Edinburgh in winter last.

"T. Stewart."

Original, Wodrow MSS., Advocates' Library. This document was one of the informations which so completely justify Montrose in having recourse to his Cumbernauld bond.

[2] "Answers to Mr John Stewart's deposition, in so far as the same concerns the Earl of Montrose, 28th February 1642." *Original* MS., Montrose Charter-chest. The quotations which follow are from the same document, first printed for the Maitland Club, in the author's Memorials of Montrose, 1850, vol. ii. p. 475.

he will take the Crown per force—and he will *cry King at Whitsunday*;"[1] while the common soldiers of his host, those "supple fellows with their plaids, targes, and dorlachs," lounging and swaggering about the premises, proclaimed, wherever they came, that "they were *King Campbell's men*, no more *King Stewart's*." Verily not all the breezes of the Tay, the Tummel, and the Garry, would have sufficed, even in the course of two centuries, to purify the place, had its loyal lord not procured the presence and countenance of a gracious Queen to beam upon it in modern days.

Montrose having fulfilled his mission in the braes of Angus, and withal conducted himself towards his opponents there like a gentleman and a christian, marched, in the month of July 1640, with his contingent to join the army of the Covenant; Argyle, as we have seen, immediately thereafter occupying Airlie Castle. General Leslie was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dunse. There our hero, whose ardour in the cause, no doubt, was considerably abated, found his own "whimsies" in full bloom. The pretty fancy of blue ribbons, with which in 1639 he outbid the loyal demonstration of Huntly's nursery, had been again adopted throughout the whole army, and become established as a national characteristic. In this army, which consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, the Earl was entrusted with the command, respectively, of two thousand, and five hundred. The professed object of the expedition—its real object and ultimate designs being as yet all *in nubibus*—was simply to present an humble petition to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to touch with the sceptre all the lawless acts of the last Parliament, which had been held without any constitutional warrant, at the will of a powerful clique of plotters, and in defiance of the law of the land. To some of these acts, espe-

[1] The precise words, in the original MS., are:—"As also he (John Stewart) confesses that there were lines written in Erse, concerning Argyle, which he translates in these words following: 'I gave Argyle the praise, because all men see it is truth; for he will take gear from the lowland men; and he will take the Crown per force; and he will cry King at Whitsunday:' As likewise that the common soldiers of his army, wherever they came, they said they were King Campbell's men,—no more King Stewart's."

cially such as destroyed Episcopal rule in Scotland, Montrose had assented upon his own conviction. From others, which trenched more alarmingly upon the prerogatives of the Crown, he announced his manly and consistent dissent. Even this opposition, however, had matters stopped there, he was willing to have waived, for the sake of a peaceful settlement of the ruinous dispute between King and Country. But when he discovered, by many circumstances coming to his knowledge about the same time, that there was a project on foot to depose the King, and to bring Scotland under the military despotism of Argyle, his face became set like a flint against "the indirect practising of a few," with whom, indeed, the unhappy nation had no sympathy, and he never swerved from his determination to cross all their "far designs."

No sooner had he joined the army on the border, than he was pursued by an indication of the western potentate's overbearing humour, in that impeachment already noticed of his conduct towards Lord Ogilvy; for which, however, as he tells us, he obtained a formal act of exoneration, after defending himself "before the General himself, in hearing of the Committee." Immediately, however, upon this affair being settled, the bond by which Argyle was to overrule all benorth Forth, and our hero to be one of his *committee*, was privately pressed upon his acceptance. This office appears to have been undertaken by certain noblemen, whom Montrose does not name. But as he refers to the Earls of Cassilis and Mar, as well as to Alexander Campbell, and Humby, in support of his own recollection of the precise tenor of the bond, probably the two noblemen had been named along with himself, and had undertaken the somewhat delicate task. The transaction, however, was a secret. Neither the public, nor the Committee of Estates, were cognizant of any such proposition, as is manifest from the subsequent investigation into the nature and tenor of these Argyle bonds. During the inquisitorial proceedings which crushed the attempt of our hero to combine the latent loyalty of the Scotch nobles, by means of a conservative bond of his own repudiating such practices, but recognising and adhering to the original Covenant, one of the Perthshire clergymen, Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven, made oath before a committee of the Estates, as

to Montrose's conversation with him on the subject. In the month of February 1641, about six months after the attempt to obtain his signature to the bond in question, the Earl, meeting with this clergyman in Perth, himself furnished a detailed account of these mysterious transactions, which we quote entire from the original record, as this important evidence has never entered history:—

"Thereafter my Lord Montrose says to the deponer, '*You were an instrument of bringing me to this cause;* I am calumniated, and slandered as a backslider in this cause, and am desirous to give you and all honest men satisfaction anent my carriage therein:' The deponer then asked his Lordship why he subscribed the bond that was contrary to the Covenant?[1] The Earl answered, it was not contrary to the Covenant, but for the Covenant: The deponer asked the reason, and why it was done in private, seeing any bond that had been for the Covenant might have been avowed? About this time Mr John Robertson, minister at Perth, being sent for by the Earl, came in to them, and then the Earl, continuing his discourse in presence of the said Mr John, answered: That they saw some *few particular men taking some particular courses contrary to the cause and Covenant*, and therefore they behoved to strengthen themselves, for the maintenance of the cause and Covenant by that bond. The deponer answered, 'How does that appear?' The Earl answered: 'There were some few upon courses for change of the Government:[2] For there has been a *motion for deposing of the King;* and next, for *setting up a Dictator;* and, that failing, there was another motion for *setting a General within the country*, as there was one *without the country;* this was left, and another course taken for making a *Triumvirate*, one to rule all benorth Forth, and two besouth the Forth:' The deponer answered, 'These things seem very strange, for we have neither heard, thought, nor dreamed of any such thing, and there is no likelihood thereof:' The Earl answered, it was true, and pressed the last point; alleging that for doing thereof there was a bond

[1] Montrose's bond at Cumbernauld, to be immediately noticed.

[2] *i. e.* The *Monarchical* form of government.

drawn up, and *offered to be subscribed*, for establishing a particular man benorth Forth, by which the subjects were to be obliged in fidelity and fealty, and that *the Earl refused to subscribe it, but rather should die or he did it;* which he would prove with sixteen as good as himself:'[1] The deponer answered, these things were strange, he could not believe them, because they seemed to be very unlikely: The Earl replied, that he might accuse them, but he would not do it, till first he cleared himself at the Parliament and Assembly: The deponer said: 'You are all agreed now in Edinburgh, and I beseech you may keep unity, for the breach thereof is a mean to do most harm to this cause:' The Earl answered, he should do nothing to prejudice the cause, but maintain the same with life and means."[2]

Alarmed and excited by what occurred at Dunse, Montrose hastened to Edinburgh. There his worst suspicions were confirmed by a conversation which he held with his former college chum, Lord Lindsay of the Byres. When they met, the conservative Earl made some inquiries as to the state of affairs since the army left for the borders, and also expressed his regret at the condition of the country, "and that some were crying up the Earl of Argyle too much." Lindsay replied, that he had engaged in no public business for some time; but that, conversing lately with a friend, whom he did not venture to

[1] This means the bond which Montrose himself declared Archibald Campbell saw drawn up, and which was afterwards offered to Montrose for signature, when he said he "rather should die or he did." The minister of Perth, Mr John Robertson, was examined by the Committee upon the 12th June 1641. His declaration is substantially the same as Mr Robert Murray's. But he adds, "That the Earl affirmed that the foresaid bond anent the rule benorth Forth was offered to his Lordship to be subscribed by him at *Chansley Wood*, before the army crossed Tweed." The army crossed towards the end of August 1640. Both James Gordon and Bishop Guthrie mention that Leslie's army was encamped at "*Chansley Wood*," near Dunse, before crossing Tweed in the month of August 1640.

Mr John Graham, the minister of Auchterarder, alluding to the above incident to his Presbytery, was reported to have spoken of certain bonds "offered to a certain nobleman, *by some other noblemen*, to be subscribed by him."

[2] *Original MS.*, endorsed—"27 May. Mr Robert Murray, his deposition anent the speeches betwixt the Earl of Montrose and him. Sworn and subscribed last May 1641."

name, that individual, he said, had expressed the very same regrets now uttered by his Lordship. "One grief expressed," continued Lindsay, "was a regret of the divisions and jealousies of this country: Another was, that it was a pity that we, who are Christians, and have not only our liberties, lands, wives and children, but also our religion in question, cannot agree amongst ourselves; whilst the Romans, who are but Ethnics, when their affairs came in hazard, would agree among themselves, and so far yield one to another, that they would make one of themselves to be *Dictator*, to have *the sole power over them:* yea, private enemies, when they were employed in public affairs, did lay down their private quarrels, and join in hearty union, so long as the public was in question." Such were the more than suspicious expressions which Lindsay himself, when subsequently examined before a committee (intended to clear that nobleman from the scandal) on the subject of this conversation, declared that he had addressed to Montrose. The former, however, was a stanch adherent of Argyle's, and is characterised by Guthrie as one of "the most furious in the cause." His interests, too, lay benorth the Forth; and that in this speech he was sounding the other on the subject of the proposed Dictatorship for Argyle, there cannot be any doubt. He declared indeed, that "he does not remember that ever he named the Earl of Argyle, or meant that there was any intention to make the Earl of Argyle, or any other, Dictator at all; and remembers that in a discourse —either at that or some other time—the Earl of Montrose asking if the deponer knew that the Earl of Argyle was to have any preferment, he answered that he knew not of any, but that there was a great esteem had of him in the country." But Montrose—ever fearless and truthful, and whose statements, moreover, are corroborated by the fact of the bond to the same effect, which had been pressed upon him by some noblemen at Dunse, a measure of which Lindsay could not be ignorant—repeatedly "affirmed that the Lord Lindsay named the Earl of Argyle to be Dictator;" and, out of mere courtesy to the imperfect recollection of his Lordship, he thus finally qualified his written declaration on the subject: "That, to his best memory, the Lord Lindsay named the Earl of Argyle to be the man

pointed at; but, howsoever, the whole drift of the discourse did infer so much, as the Earl of Montrose did conceive the same."[1]

Connecting this information with what he already knew, our hero could not fail to be alarmed for the Monarchy in Scotland. Nor can it be doubted that he was justified in his determination to counteract the ambitious schemes of those who, to adopt the very significant words addressed in the previous year by the covenanting Lord Advocate to Rothes, " had not *religion* for their end, but *the bearing down of Monarchy*."[2]

Mighty fine words these, on the part of his Majesty's Advocate. But the coincidence is remarkable, and very germain to the matter in hand, that his own son, Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, who commanded " the College of Justice troop" in the covenanting army, was indulging in argument to the very same effect—the deposing the King,—and this in the dining-room and in presence of the covenanting commander-in-chief. Colonel Walter Stewart, an officer in that army, of whom we shall presently hear more, had repeated to Douglas of Cavers, Sheriff of Teviotdale, a conversation which there took place, about the very time when similar discourses were startling the loyal ears of Montrose elsewhere. This conversation Stewart had reported as something approaching very nearly to high treason; and considering the ties between the Advocate's family and his Majesty —for another son, Alexander, was attached to the Court as Royal Carver Extraordinary,[3]—this would have been rather an awkward scandal to have reached the royal ear. Some months afterwards, Colonel Stewart was arrested in Scotland—an incident to which we shall have to revert—and compelled to afford materials for the process against Montrose in 1641. Upon that

[1] *Orig. MS., Advoc. Lib.*—Dated 4th June 1641 (a twelvemonth after the conversation), and signed " Montrose, Cassilis, Balmerino, Naper." The three last-named noblemen were a committee appointed by the Committee of Estates, to endeavour to reconcile the declarations of Montrose and Lindsay; which, indeed, were substantially the same.

[2] See before, p. 231.

[3] An office which he obtained through the interest of Hamilton, and in which he carved very much after the fashion of his father, and of his two brothers, Sir John of Craighall, and Sir Thomas of Kerse.

occasion, when reporting, secretly, the result of his examinations to Archibald Johnston in London, Sir Thomas Hope, the younger, writes: "Walter Stewart has craved a pardon for the wrong he did me, and has set down the words which passed betwixt us, under his hand, whereof I have sent the authentic copy to my brother (Alexander at Court), which you may have from him, if you desire to see it."[1] In what different terms Colonel Stewart had originally reported this conversation, for which, as here alleged, he had "craved a pardon," does not appear. But we have recovered the original record of Stewart's examination, containing the amended version, which Sir Thomas accepted of as the true one; and we cannot help thinking that it smacks somewhat of treason still. He was examined, amid truculent threats, by those old birds of sedition, Balmerino, and the subservient burgess Edward Edgar; and he thereupon deponed, that, when with Sir Thomas, in General Leslie's dining-room at Newcastle, the General himself being present, and the discourse happening to fall upon the impending trial of Strafford, the following conversation occurred:—

Colonel Stewart ventured to remark, that so great a man as the Earl of Strafford should only be judged by his Peers, and not by the whole Parliament. Sir Thomas Hope then struck in: "No subject can be so great but that the Parliament may judge him: If credit be given to histories, Parliaments have judged Kings."—"I believe you cannot make that good," said the Colonel. "It may be made good out of histories," rejoined the other. "Out of what histories?"—"I will not speak of English histories," said Hope; "but for the Scottish, I believe it will be found in *Buchanan*."—"Is it out of his *De Jure Regni?*"—"I speak of his history."—"Buchanan is but a modern writer," timidly suggested the Colonel. "Though Buchanan was so himself," answered the other, "no doubt he had written out of those who wrote before him."—"What Kings were they of whom Buchanan wrote?"—"I do not," replied the commander of the College of Justice Troop, "remember their names for the present; but, to my memory, Kenneth the Second, or Kenneth the Third, was one of them."[2]

[1] *Original* MS. letter, to be quoted afterwards. See conclusion of Chapter XVI.

[2] *Original* MS. record, signed by the deponent, Walter Stewart; and by Balme-

According to the evidence thus *combed down*, indeed we may say extorted, the conversation on that subject there ceased, no one else being present but the Field Marshal, who seems not to have taken any part therein. Accepting of it as given, however, we may fancy the clever old mercenary commander, who cared mighty little for King, Country, or Constitution, inwardly chuckling at the significance of this subdued skirmish between his military guests.

But this conversation happens to be in perfect unison with the debate at the opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1640, when Montrose "argued against" such sentiments. And, by a singular coincidence, very shortly thereafter, the King's authority and person began to be more than whispered against by the democratic party in England. Clarendon tells us, in his Life, that "when Mr Hyde (meaning himself) sat in the chair in the grand committee of the House for the extirpation of Episcopacy (1641), all that party made great court to him." And that at this time having met his intimate republican friend, Harry Martin, "walking between the parliament-house and Westminster, in the churchyard,"—they entered into a political discourse, the object of the latter being to make a convert of the future Chancellor. This great man bore his part in the argument with candour and openness, and pressed Martin "to say *what* he desired; to which, after a little pause, he very roundly answered, '*I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all.*'" Clarendon adds, that "this was the first word he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose;" and that he was greatly shocked at finding such a sentiment abroad, and hearing it from the lips of an individual "possessed of a very great fortune, and having great credit in his country."

Such were the facts simultaneously pressed upon Montrose's attention, as proved by the original manuscripts yet extant of his own judicial declarations. But it may well be supposed that many other circumstances, of which no record has been preserved, concurred about this period to rouse within him the sentiment which even Sir Thomas Hope had so emphatically

rino and Edward Edgar, who took the deposition: *Advocates' Library*. A small committee, this, to dispose of such a matter.

pronounced to Rothes, "Let me be put to an essay for *religion*, and ye shall see what I shall do or suffer for it; *but for civil points look never to have me to go with you.*"

With characteristic promptitude, Montrose, before rejoining the army at the borders, took measures which he fondly hoped would at once preserve all that was respectable and patriotic in the covenanting movement he had joined, and at the same time save the Monarchy from the intriguing of a few leading factionists. Accordingly, taking a hint from the proceedings of the opposite party, he too framed a bond of alliance. But it was the bond of a conservative association, as temperate and dignified in its expression as it was unexceptionable in its object. Baillie vaguely and violently describes it as "Montrose's *damnable band*, by which he thought to have sold us to the enemy." But he does not venture to quote it in his voluminous letters and journals. He had no desire that its precise terms should enter the *Historia Motuum* of his correspondent Spang. The terms of the bond itself remaining unknown, it has been frequently described—upon the mere assertion of this chronicler—as a factious plot on the part of Montrose, dictated by no better motive than his rivalry of Argyle. It was instantly burnt, when discovered, by order of the Committee of Estates. The Lord Lyon, however, Sir James Balfour, who probably superintended the burning, had preserved a transcript, which, until brought to light by the author of this biography, had remained unnoticed among his manuscripts. From that transcript it is given below; and our readers will judge for themselves of the character of a document which the Reverend Robert Baillie has recorded as "Montrose's damnable band."[1]

[1] *The copy of the bond subscribed by Montrose and the rest of these noblemen:—*

"Whereas we under-subscribers, out of our duty to Religion, King, and Country, were forced to join ourselves in a Covenant for the maintenance and defence of eithers, and every one of other, in that behalf: Now finding how that, by the *particular and indirect practising of a few*, the country, and cause now depending, does so much suffer, do heartily hereby bind and oblige ourselves, out of our duty to all these respects above-mentioned, but chiefly and namely *that Covenant already signed*, to wed and study all public ends which may tend to the safety both of Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this poor kingdom; and, as we are to make an account before that Great Judge at the last day, that we shall contribute one with another, in a unanimous and joint way, in whatsomever may concern the public or this cause, to the hazard of our lives, fortunes, and estates, neither of us doing, consulting, nor

Having accomplished so much of his loyal and patriotic plan, he forthwith returned to the army, still encamped at Dunse.

It was early in August 1640, at Cumbernauld, the house of his relative the Earl of Wigton, that this bond was signed. Montrose's opposition to the party of Argyle and Rothes has been generally regarded as a manifest proof of separation from the Covenant to which he had sworn to adhere. But even the signatures to this bond attest the contrary. That all who signed it were not so constant in their opposition, and that none of them became so devoted in the hopeless cause of Monarchy, cannot alter the fact, that many of the most honourable of the *covenanting* nobles actually subscribed to the sentiments thus expressed, and swore to maintain them. This document illustrates the opinion entertained of Argyle, as its failure proves his power. For among the signatures will be observed that of Lord Amond, afterwards Earl of Callendar, who, at the very time, was Lieutenant-general of the army, and second in command to Leslie. In regard to the Earl of Mar, Baillie, writing in the course of the year which intervened betwixt the date of the Covenant and that of the bond, observes, "Stirling was in the hand of our *sure friend* the Earl of Mar, so we touched it not." And must not this chronicler have blushed to look back upon the fanaticism quoted below,[1] when he found Lord Erskine's name at the bond he so bitterly execrates?

condescending in any point, without the consent and approbation of the whole, in so far as they can be conveniently had, and time may allow. And likeas we swear and protest by the same oath, that, in so far as may consist with the good and weal of the public, every one of us shall join and adhere to others (each other) and their interests, against all persons and causes whatsoever, so what shall be done to one, with reservation foresaid, shall be equally resented and taken as done to the whole number. In witness hereof," &c.

"The subscribers of the principal bond, and in this order: Marschell, Montrose, Wigton, Kinghorn, Home, Athol, Mar, Perth, Boyd, Galloway, Stormont, Seaforth, Erskine, Kircubrycht, Amond, Drummond, Johnston, Lour, D. Carnegy, Master of Lour."

[1] "While we were in some piece of perplexity, we were *singularly comforted*, that in the very instant of the Marquis's departure (from the Assembly 1638), a very noble youth, of great expectation, my Lord Erskine, craving audience of us, professed *with tears* his great grief, that, against the *inborn light of his own mind*, he had withholden his hand from our Covenant, and person from our meetings, besought to *pray Christ for him*, that his *sin* might be forgiven him, and entreated

Upon Friday, 21st August 1640, the army under General Leslie crossed the Tweed. Here a curious incident occurred, for which we have the authority of James Gordon, and also of Baillie, who was in the camp. The chiefs were assembled, and "dice were cast" to determine which should first pass through the river. The lot fell upon Montrose. Either it was so managed in order to test his willingness and commit him conspicuously in the rebellion, or the fortune was remarkable. All the contemporary accounts coincide in their description of the alacrity with which he set the example to the whole army. "He went on foot himself first through, and *returned* to encourage his men."[1] There was some danger in the attempt; for the stream was so strong that the cavalry, after our hero had crossed, were obliged to be stationed in the water to break the force of the current. One of his own regiment perished in following his heroic commander. Animated, however, by the gallantry with which he had forded the current, "boots and all,"—"we," says Baillie, "passed Tweed with *great courage*, our horse troops standing in the water, our foot all wading in order, about their middle." Eight days afterwards, the miserable affair of Newburn, where Lord Conway scarcely disputed the passage of the Tyne, enabled the Scots to fasten with impunity upon Newcastle, and afforded them ridiculous pretensions of a great victory in arms, a thing they never attained.

About the time of the commencement of the treaty of Rippon, which opened there on the 1st of October 1640, Montrose addressed a single letter from Newcastle to the King at York. The result of its detection, by the faction interested to condemn it, leaves no manner of doubt as to the simple and guarded nature of the communication. Indeed Wishart, most probably informed of its contents by the writer himself, assures us of the fact. "In the time of the truce," he says, "Montrose

humbly we would now admit him to our Covenant and Society. We all embraced him gladly, and admired the *timeousness* of God's *comforts and mercies* towards us." —*Baillie's Letters and Journals.*

[1] The fact is now placed beyond all doubt by the more recent discovery, in the Montrose Charter-chest, of the Marquis's defence against the libel of 1641, where he says:—"And I was, of all, myself the first that put my foot in the water, and led over a regiment in the view of all the army."

had sent a letter unto the King, professing his fidelity, and most dutiful and ready obedience to his Majesty; nor did the letter contain anything else. This being stolen away in the night, and copied out by the King's own bed-chamber men—men most endeared to the King of all the world—was sent back by them to the Covenanters at Newcastle; and it was the fashion with those very men to communicate unto the Covenanters, from day to day, the King's most secret councils, of which they themselves only were either authors or partakers."[1] According to another contemporary historian, Sanderson, this treachery had been instigated by the Marquis of Hamilton; and Guthrie also declares that Montrose himself, "professing to have *certain knowledge* thereof, affirmed William Murray," the creature of Hamilton, "was the man who, in October 1640, sent to Newcastle the copies of his letters, which he had written to the King, then at York." Baillie's account of the matter is as follows:—"Some of our officers became malcontents: what ailed our officers is not yet well known; only Montrose, whose *pride* long ago was intolerable, and meaning very doubtful, *was found* to have intercourse of letters with the King, for which he was accused publicly by the General, in the face of the Committee. His bed-fellow Drummond, his cousin Fleming, his ally Boyd, and *too many others*, were thought too much to be of his humour. The coolness of the good old General, and the *diligence of the preachers*, did shortly cast water on this spunk beginning untimeously to smoke."

[1] Bishop Burnet, in his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, asserts that Sir James Mercer "did often vouch before many witnesses," that the Covenanters obtained their knowledge of Montrose's correspondence with the King, simply by means of Mercer having read the address of Montrose's letter, as it accidentally fell to the ground. Burnet adds, without quoting authority, that, being threatened by the Covenanting Committee, "Montrose came, and *produced a copy* of the letter he said he had written, and *craved pardon*, and so this matter was passed over." This version is by way of saving the character of Hamilton. But the evidence of Montrose's chaplain is to be preferred to Burnet's. The latter is also refuted by a record to be afterwards referred to. Spalding says: "1640,—Word came here that the King was under some suspicion of his *cubicularies* (bed-chamber men), that they were revealing what they heard him say, to the Scots; whilk I believe was not far by, so long as he keeped the *Marquis of Hamilton* beside him." Laud, Secretary Nicholas, and Charles himself, all bear witness to the fact of his Majesty being a prey to this mean faithlessness of his household.

But it was the instant and fearless assertion by Montrose himself, of his right to hold a private correspondence with his Sovereign, of such a character, that paralysed his accusers, and caused them to be, "as many a time from the beginning they had been, at a *non-plus*."[1] Hamilton's creatures may have entertained hopes of ruining Montrose by this disclosure; and certainly the covenanting faction were most desirous of an opportunity to rid themselves for ever of a nobleman whose talents, courage, and independence, were so formidable to them. The occasion at first appeared to favour their object. Leslie's articles of war decreed, that "No man shall at his own hand, without warrant of my Lord General, have or keep intelligence with *the enemy*, by speech, letters, signs, or any other way, under the pain to be punished as a traitor." In fact, his Majesty was considered *the enemy;* and a loyal correspondence apart from the faction was treason by their code. But when Montrose boldly justified the act, it was impossible to gainsay him. For these same articles of war, true to the system of the Covenanters, who never struck a rebellious blow without first proclaiming God save the King, contained this provision: "If any man shall *open his mouth* against the King's Majesty's person, or *authority*, or shall presume to touch his sacred person, he shall be punished as a traitor"! So the matter ended for the time.

But the Earl of Argyle was not to be out-manœuvred by such a character as Montrose. His conservative bond, which he no doubt had flattered himself would be the means of saving the Country, was also speedily discovered, and brought before the committee at Edinburgh by Argyle himself. One of the peers who signed it was Lord Boyd, Montrose's "ally," and the son-in-law of the Earl of Wigton. This young nobleman died about the 24th year of his age, according to Sir James Balfour, of a "burning fever," on the 19th November 1640. Shortly before his death he had uttered some expressions, probably incoherent, which, however, made known that such a bond existed. Argyle, with characteristic sagacity, discovered the whole secret. He paid a visit at Callendar, where the Lieu-

[1] Baillie.

tenant-General, Lord Amond, one of "the Banders," as they came to be designed, had arrived for a time from his command at Newcastle; nor did Argyle depart without obtaining all the information of which he was in quest. He laid the matter before his subservient committee at Edinburgh, who immediately summoned Montrose, then in Scotland, and the rest of the noblemen implicated, and within their reach, to appear and answer to this new accusation of treason against the government of the Dictator. Montrose upon this occasion acted with the same cool intrepidity which he invariably displayed when placed in a dangerous position with the party anxious to destroy him, and not scrupulous as to the means. He avowed and justified the act. Spalding says, "Montrose produced the bond." Guthrie's account is, that "they acknowledged the bond, and gave their reasons why they had joined in it; all which were rejected by the committee, and they declared censurable; and indeed some of the *ministers*, and other fiery spirits, pressed that their *lives might go for it*. But Argyle and his committee considered that they were too strong a party to meddle with that way, especially seeing divers of them having the commands of regiments in the army; and therefore they consulted to pack up the business, upon a *declaration* under their hands that they intended nothing against the public, together with a surrendering of the bond, which the Committee having gotten caused it *to be burnt*." We now know its terms.

Montrose was playing a dashing game, but it was too simple and honest to succeed. The able and most unscrupulous Argyle counter-checked him at every move, and in the long run checkmated him, though with the loss of all his own pawns, knights, and castles. Our hero's plan was open enough. Having detected, from the debates in the Parliaments of 1639 and 1640, the anti-monarchical scheme of the most wily and powerful enemy to the Throne in Scotland, he laid the foundation of his future conservative opposition, by "arguing against" that leader and his coadjutors, upon those public occasions. The attempt to obtain his connivance and signature, at Dunse, to the riper scheme of the Dictatorship, elicited his yet more indignant announcement that he would "rather die than do it." This

incident, immediately followed by what escaped from Lord Lindsay in Edinburgh, caused him to combine those peers at Cumbernauld, for the standing of the Throne, and the safety of the Realm. This was a public opposition and defiance, not a secret plot. For even the Cumbernauld bond, his conservative charter, was signed by so many men of the highest rank and consideration in the kingdom, including the peer who was second in command of the rebel army, that its remaining a secret many days was totally out of the question. But what was to be done next? Montrose was ready, perhaps too ready, to announce his plan to any one with whom he entered into conversation, from the seditious preacher to the vacillating peer. His plan was simply this. Besides his own experiences, above recorded, other information had been volunteered to him, of the strong indications of treasonable designs on the part of Argyle, by the Earl of Athole, Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartin, Sir Thomas Stewart of Grandtully, and John Stewart younger of Ladywell. His first informant being the latter, he instructed him to procure the best evidence on the subject of Argyle's whole proceedings in the north that he could; but to be careful not to exaggerate or misstate any circumstance. These instructions, "with *that caveat by Montrose*, that the deponer should rather keep himself within bounds than exceed," were given by him in the presence of the Earl of Athole, who perfectly concurred in the propriety of the instructions, and the necessity of the investigation. Montrose expected, and meant to use all his influence to procure, the presence of the King at the next meeting of the Parliament in Scotland, in order to ratify the acts relating to what was considered the religion and liberties of the country, and to which he too had pledged himself. But that ratification was to him the pillars of Hercules, the *Ultima Thule* of the clerical movement in Scotland against the Court. In that Parliament, face to face with the King, he intended again, and more emphatically, to deny the proposition that a Parliament could sit, and pass laws, without a King. In the royal presence he meant to dare Argyle to his democratic doctrine; to expose his treasonable speeches and designs; and to reveal the whole scheme of the Dictatorship. No doubt he

had a rod in pickle for Hamilton too. His plan, in short, was (to use his own expressions) to take the good King out of the hands of "James Marquis of Hamilton, the prime fomenter of these misunderstandings betwixt the King and his subjects;" and to take Scotland out of the hands of Argyle, and "the oppression and tyranny of subjects, the most fierce, insatiable, and insupportable tyranny in the world." To effect all this he conceived no more was necessary than to persuade the King to preside in Parliament, to ratify the clerical acts of the unlawful Conventions, and then to listen to his (Montrose's) public detection, and proofs, of seditious double-dealing, and treasonable "far designs," against such magnates as Argyle and Hamilton.

Montrose was a simpleton. After finding that his private letters to the King were as patent to the Covenanters as if he had written through their own committee; after discovering that the noble signatures to his Cumbernauld House compact was a rope of sand, and that those uncertain and spiritless peers were made to look like a string of wild geese at the fiat of Argyle; he still cherished his grand parliamentary project, when shorn of all its power, and kept pouring it into the ear of any man who happened to be riding by his side, or whom he got hold of by the button. His conservative charter was burnt, in order that the public, to whom it was denounced as "damnable," might not know its real character. Then of course it was the policy to malign him in every direction, as an horrible plotter and infamous backslider. His honourable and fiery spirit fretted and chafed under this slow but sure mode of effecting his ruin, and he became as unguarded as a child. One day, at the commencement of the year 1641, while he was still attached to the covenanting army, and while the negotiations were going on at Rippon, he happened to be riding from Chester to Newcastle, with Colonel John Cochrane on one side of him, and no less a personage than his former adjutant, Field Marshal Leslie, on the other. It is scarcely to be supposed that the latter, unless the old campaigner's ears were stuffed with cotton, could fail to pick up something, if he did not hear the whole of the conversation that ensued between the two former. This time, however, it was in another vein than that to which he had listened

in his own dining-room at Newcastle, between Sir Thomas Hope and Colonel Stewart. And the different degrees of alarm, at this crisis, excited by discourses tending to treason against King Charles, and against "King Campbell," is somewhat amusing. Scarcely less so is the coolness and indifference with which Leslie himself seems to have pursued his own military and mercenary speculations, amid all this buzz of treason and counter-treason on either side of him, without being at all disturbed by it, unless driven to exercise some show of military authority.

Upon the occasion in question, our hero began to discourse with the Colonel upon the merits of the Cumbernauld bond, which had been just burnt by order of the Committee of Estates in the month of January 1641. He defended his own measure, and said he had many reasons and grounds for attempting to effect that conservative compact. One of these was, "that he could prove there were some of the prime leaders of the business in the country, guilty of high treason in the highest manner, and that they had entered into motions for deposing the King." He spoke also of the scheme for cantoning the country, and Argyle's "bonds of manrent." Bold speeches these, certainly, to have been made at the ear of old Leslie. Accordingly, it threw the gallant Colonel into a state of great nervousness, much more so than if the Earl had suggested the propriety of placing Archibald Campbell in Charles Stewart's chair. "Whereupon the deponer answered, that these were discourses whereof he desired not to hear; and *entreated* his Lordship not to enter any further on that purpose, but to leave it, and speak of *some other subjects*, which he did." Upon a subsequent occasion, however, Montrose, as if taking a malicious pleasure in trying Colonel Cochrane's nerves, for his loyalty was undoubted, thus addressed him in the Earl's own lodgings in Newcastle:—"Think you not but I can prove what I said to you the other day?" To the which the deponer answered,—'I desire not to *hear or speak of such matters*, and therefore crave your Lordship's pardon not to go any further on therein;' and so they left it."[1]

[1] Colonel John Cochrane, afterwards Sir John, was the eldest son of Alexander Blair, a younger son of Blair of Blair. Alexander Blair assumed the name of

Restless in body and mind, galled in spirit, dissatisfied with his false position, ashamed of, and indignant at the uncertainty of principle, and feebleness of spirit, which characterised (to borrow a phrase from the turf) *the ruck* of the peerage in Scotland, the future champion of the Crown, during the treaty of Rippon, was continually passing between the army at Newcastle and his own domains in Scotland, rendering his sentiments and objects notorious wherever he went, Argyle meanwhile watching him like a tiger from his bush.

To maintain any reserve as to his own principles and feelings was certainly no part of his system. Even at this dangerous crisis, when, as he says of himself, he was "a man envied, and all means were used to cross him," and that "it was boldly promised that his sword should be taken from his side before two months passed," he ventured to commit to paper, in a letter to a friend, upon which no seal of secrecy appears to have been placed, and which indeed is framed as if for publication, an argumentative and remonstrative philippic, which of itself would have sufficed to make Hamilton his enemy for life, and Argyle his executioner to the death. And this at the time of the treaty of Rippon, about the close of the year 1640, or the commencement of the year 1641! That a document so interesting and important should have escaped all observation whatever, until the researches for his present biography were undertaken, is not a little remarkable. I have thought it worthy to compose a distinct chapter of his biography. For it illustrates not only the deeply cogitated principles by which he shaped his political course, but it displays the culture of his mind; it proves that his life at college had not been merely a curriculum of hunting, hawking, archery, and golf; and it indicates that strong tendency of his genius towards letters and learning which the Troubles overlaid, but which has been so justly typified by the

Cochrane in right of his wife, Elizabeth Cochrane of Cochrane. Their *second* son, William, was raised to the peerage, in the lifetime of his elder brother, by the title of Lord Cochrane of Dundonald, in 1647; and in 1669 was advanced to be Earl of Dundonald. His less fortunate elder brother, referred to in the text, died before the Restoration. The references to his depositions are from the originals, among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library.

English Tintoretto, who, in a very noble portrait, has figured Pallas in arms beside the hero's head.[1]

The reader who is impatient to follow Montrose to the field of battle, and takes no interest in aught but his triumphs, and his tragedy, may omit the perusal of the next chapter.

[1] See the portrait of Montrose by Dobson, as now first engraved for this volume. It was painted in 1644. But in this year, 1640, his portrait was for the second time taken by Jameson. See the history of his portraits in the Appendix.

CHAPTER XV.

MONTROSE'S LETTER TO A FRIEND ON SOVEREIGN POWER—HIS REASONS FOR WRITING IT—HOW HE PROPOSES TO DISCUSS THE THEME—NATURE AND ESSENTIALS OF SUPREME POWER IN GOVERNMENT—ILLUSTRATIONS DERIVED FROM HISTORY—WHEREIN CONSISTS ITS STRENGTH AND ITS WEAKNESS—EFFECT OF UNDUE EXTENSION AND EXERCISE OF SUPREME POWER—THE ABUSE OF IT PROMOTED BY EVIL COUNSELLORS—HAPPY EFFECTS OF THE MODERATE EXERCISE OF IT—THE SUPREME POWER UNDULY RESTRAINED RESOLVES INTO TYRANNISING BY SUBJECTS—REMEDIES IN EITHER CASE—FREQUENT AND RIGHTLY CONSTITUTED PARLIAMENTS THE BEST SAFEGUARD OF SUPREME POWER IN GOVERNMENT—THE DESIRE TO RULE OF GREAT MEN, VEILED UNDER THE SPECIOUS PRETEXT OF RELIGION AND LIBERTIES, SECONDED BY THE ARGUMENTS AND FALSE POSITIONS OF SEDITIOUS PREACHERS, IS THE PERPETUAL CAUSE OF CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN PRINCE AND PEOPLE—SOME OF THEIR FALSE ARGUMENTS ANSWERED—REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO THE NOBLEMEN MISLEADING THE PEOPLE—REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE—PREDICATES THE ADVENT OF CROMWELL—REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO CERTAIN NOBLES AIMING AT THE CROWN OF SCOTLAND—REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO SEDITIOUS PREACHERS—DEPRECATES CONDUCT SUBVERSIVE OF THE GENERAL DESIRE FOR A DURABLE PEACE WITH ENGLAND—COMMENTARY ON MONTROSE'S LETTER.

"NOBLE SIR:—

"IN the letter you did me the honour to send me, you move a question in *two words*, to give a satisfactory answer to which requires works and volumes, not letters. Besides, the matter is of so sublime and transcendant a nature as is above my reach, and not fit for subjects to meddle with,—if it were not to do right to sovereign power in a time when *so much is said and done to the disgrace and derogation of it*. Nevertheless, to obey your desire, I will deliver my opinion: *First*, concerning the nature, essential parts, and practice of the supreme power in government of all sorts. *Secondly*, I will shew wherein the strength and weakness thereof consists, and the effects of both. *Thirdly*, I will answer some arguments and false positions main-

tained by the impugners of royal power; and that without partiality, and as briefly as I can:—

1. "Civil societies, so pleasing to Almighty God, cannot subsist without government, nor government without a sovereign power, to force obedience to laws and just commands, to dispose and direct private endeavours to public ends, and to unite and incorporate the several members into one body politic, that with joint endeavours and abilities they may the better advance the public good. This sovereignty is a *power over the people;* above which power there is none upon earth; whose acts cannot be rescinded by any other; instituted by God, for his glory and the temporal and eternal happiness of men. This is it that is recorded so oft, by the wisdom of antient times, to be sacred and inviolable; the truest image and representation of the power of Almighty God upon earth; not to be bounded, disputed, meddled with at all by subjects; who can never handle it, though never so warily, but it is thereby wounded, and the public peace disturbed. Yet it is limited by the laws of God and nature; and some laws of nations; and by the fundamental laws of the country; which are those upon which sovereign power itself resteth, in prejudice of which a King can do nothing; and those also which secure to the good subject his honour, his life, and the property of his goods. This power—not speaking of those who are Kings in name only, and in effect but *Principes Nobilitatis* or *Duces Belli*, nor of the arbitrary and despotic power, where one is head and all the rest slaves, but of that which is *sovereign over free subjects*—is still one and the same, in points essential, wherever it be, whether in the person of a *monarch*, or in a *few principal men*, or in the *Estates of the people*. The essential points of sovereignty are these:—To make laws; to create principal officers; to make peace and war; to give grace to men condemned by law; and to be the last to whom appellation is made. There be others, too, which are comprehended in those set down; but because majesty doeth not so clearly shine in them they are here omitted. These set down are inalienable, indivisible, incommunicable, and belong to the sovereign power *primitively* in all sorts of governments. They cannot subsist in a body composed of individuities; and if they

be divided amongst several bodies, there is no government; as if there were many kings in one kingdom, there should be none at all; for whosever should have one of these, were able to erase their proceedings who have all the rest; for the having them *negativè* and *prohibitivè* in that part to him belonging, might render the acts of all the others invalid, and there would be a superiority to the supreme, and an equality to the sovereign power, which cannot fall in any man's conceit that hath common sense; in speech it is incongruity, and to attempt it in act is pernicious.

" Having in some measure expressed the nature of supreme power, it shall be better known by the actual practice of all nations, in all the several sorts of government, as well Republics as Monarchies.

" The people of ROME—who were masters of policy, and war too, and to this day are made patterns of both—being an *Estate popular*, did exercise, without controlment or opposition, all the forenamed points essential to supreme power. No law was made but by the people; and though the Senate did propone and advise a law to be made, it was the people that gave it sanction; and it received the force of law from their command and authority, as may appear by the respective phrases of the propounder, —*Quod faustum felixque sit, vobis populoque Romano velitis jubeatis.* The people used these imperative words, *Esto sunto;* and if it were refused, the Tribune of the people expressed it with a *veto.* The propounder or adviser of the law was said *rogare legem*, and the people *jubere legem.* The election of officers was only made by the people, as appears by the ambitious buying and begging of suffrages, so frequent among them upon the occasions. War and peace was ever concluded by them, and never denounced but by their *Feciales* with commission from them. They, only, gave grace and pardon; and for the last refuge, delinquents, and they who were wronged by the sentence of judges and officers, *provocabant ad populum.*

" So it was in ATHENS, and to this day among the SWISSERS and GRISSONS, the Estate of HOLLAND, and all Estates popular. In VENICE, which is a *pure Aristocracy*, laws, war, peace, election of officers, pardon and appellation, are all concluded and done in *Conciglio maggióre*, which consists of principal men who

have the sovereignty. As for the *Pregádi*, and *Concíglio di diéci*, they were but officers and executors of their power; and the Duke is nothing but the *idol* to whom ceremonies and compliments are addressed, without the least part of sovereignty. So it was in SPARTA; so it is in LUCCA, GENOA, and RAGUSA, and all other Aristocracies; and, indeed, cannot be otherwise without the subversion of the present government.

" If, then, the lords in Republics have that power essential to sovereignty, by what reason can it be denied to a prince in whose person only, and primitively, resteth the sovereign power, and from whom all lawful subaltern power, as from the fountain, is derived?

2. " This power is strong and durable when it is temperate; and it is temperate when it is possessed (with the essential parts foresaid) with moderation, and limitation by the laws of God, of nature, and the fundamental laws of the country. It is weak when it is restrained of these essential parts; and it is weak also when it is extended beyond the laws whereby it is bounded; which could never be any time endured by the people of the western part of the world, and by those of Scotland as little as any. For that which Galba said of his Romans is the humour of them all; *nec totam libertatem nec totam servitutem pati possunt*,—but a temper of both. Unwise *princes* endeavour the extension of it,—rebellious and turbulent *subjects* the restraint. Wise princes use it moderately; but most desire to extend it, and that humour is *fomented by advice of courtiers and bad counsellors*, who are of a hasty ambition, and cannot abide the slow progress of riches and preferments in a temperate government. They persuade the arbitrary with reflexion on their own ends; knowing that the exercise thereof shall be put upon them, whereby they shall be able quickly to compass their ends; robbing thereby the people of their wealth, the King of the people's love due to him, and of the honour and reputation of wisdom. The effects of a moderate government are religion, justice, and peace; flourishing love of the subjects towards their prince, in whose hearts he reigns; durableness and strength against foreign invasions and intestine sedition; happiness and security to King and people. The effect of a prince's power too far

extended is tyranny,—from the King if he be ill,—if he be good, tyranny or a fear of it from them to whom he hath entrusted the managing of public affairs. The effect of the royal power restrained is the oppression and tyranny of subjects; *the most fierce, insatiable, and insupportable tyranny in the world;* where every man of power oppresseth his neighbour, without any hope of redress from a prince despoiled of his power to punish oppressors. The people under an extended power are miserable, but most miserable under the restrained power. The effects of the former may be cured by good advice; satiety in the Prince; or fear of infamy; or the pains of writers; or by some event which may bring a prince to the sense of his errors; and when nothing else can do it, seeing the prince is mortal, patience is a sovereign and dangerless remedy in the subject; who in wisdom and duty is obliged to tolerate the vices of his prince as they do storms and tempests, and other natural evils which are compensated with better times succeeding. It had been better for Germany to have endured the encroachments of Ferdinand, and after his death rectified them before they had made a new election, than to have brought it to desolation, and shed so much Christian blood by unseasonable remedies and opposition. But when a King's lawful power is restrained, the politic body is in such desperate estate that it can neither endure the disease, nor the remedy, which is force only. For princes' lawful power is only restrained by violence, and never repaired but by violence on the other side; which can produce nothing but ruin to prince or people, or rather to both. Patience in the subject is the best remedy against the effects of a prince's power too far extended; but when it is too far restrained, patience in the prince is so far from being a remedy, that it formeth and increaseth the disease; for patience, tract of time, and *possession*, makes that which was at first robbery, by a body that never dies, at last a *good title*,[1] and so the government comes at last to be changed.

"To procure a temperate and moderate government, there is much in the King and not a little in the people. For let a prince command never so well, if there be not a correspondent obedience there is no temper. It is not the people's part,

[1] A very accurate and lawyer-like statement of the law of prescriptive possession.

towards that end, to take upon them to limit and circumscribe royal power; it is Jupiter's thunder which never subject handled well yet; not the people's part to determine what is due to a prince, what to his people. It requires more than human sufficiency to go so even a way betwixt the prince's prerogative, and the subjects' privilege, as to content both, or be just in itself. For they can never agree upon the matter; and where it hath been attempted, as in some places it hath, the sword did ever determine the question, *which is to be avoided by all possible means.*[1] But there is a fair and justifiable way for subjects to procure a moderate government, incumbent to them in duty; which is, *to endeavour the security of Religion and just Liberties*, the matter on which the exorbitancy of a prince's power doth work; which being secured, his power must needs be temperate, and run in the even channel. 'But,' it may be demanded, 'how shall the people's *just* liberties be preserved if they be not known, and how known if they be not determined to be such?' It is answered, the *laws contain them;* and the Parliaments, which ever have been the bulwarks of subjects' liberties in monarchies, may advise new laws against emergent occasions which prejudge their liberties; and so leave it to occasion, and not prevent it by foolish haste in Parliaments, which breeds contention, and disturbance to the quiet of the state. And if Parliaments be frequent, and *rightly constituted*, what *favourite counsellor or statesman dare misinform or mislead a King* to the prejudice of a subject's liberty, knowing he must answer it upon the peril of his head and estate at the next ensuing Parliament, and that he shall put the King to an hard choice for him, either to abandon him to justice, or, by protecting him, displease the estates of his kingdom? And if the King should be so ill advised as to protect him, yet he doth not escape punishment that is branded with a mark of public infamy, declared enemy to the state, and incapable of any good amongst them.[2]

[1] "Montrose," says Malcolm Laing, "was unconscious that humanity is the most distinguished attribute of an heroical character."

[2] This sentence clearly refers to the constitution and proceedings of the lawless conventions in Scotland in 1639 and 1640, when Montrose argued against Argyle, Rothes, Balmerino, and Archibald Johnston; and he seems to point at the *favourite* Hamilton, whom, as well as Argyle, Montrose indicated an intention of impeaching in the Parliament of 1641, in presence of the King himself.

3. " The perpetual cause of the controversies, between the prince and his subjects, is the ambitious designs of *rule* in *great men*, veiled under the *specious pretext* of Religion and the subjects' Liberties, seconded with the arguments and false positions of *seditious preachers:* 1st, that the King is ordained for the people, and the end is more noble than the mean; 2d, that the constituter is superior to the constituent; 3d, that the King and people are two contraries, like the two scales of a balance, when the one goes up the other goes down; 4th, that the prince's prerogative and the people's privilege are incompatible; 5th, what power is taken from the King is added to the Estates of the people. This is the language of the *spirits of division that walk betwixt the King and his people*, to separate them whom God hath conjoined; which must not pass without some answer; to slide upon which sandy grounds these giants, who war against the gods, have builded their Babel.

" To the 1st: It is true that the true and utmost *ends* of men's actions, which is the glory of God and felicity of men, are to be preferred to all *means* directed thereunto. But there is not that order of dignity among the means themselves, or mid instruments compounded together. If it were so, and a man appointed to keep sheep, or a nobleman to be tutor-in-law to a pupil of meaner quality, the sheep should be preferred to the man, and the pupil to his tutor. To the 2d: He that constituteth so as he still retaineth the power to reverse his constitution, is superior to the constituted in *that* respect; but if his donation and constitution is absolute and without condition, devolving all his power in the person constituted, and his successors, what before was *voluntary* becomes *necessary*. It is voluntary to a woman to chuse such an one for her husband, and to a people what king they will at first; both being once done, neither can the woman nor the people free themselves, from obedience and subjection to the husband and the prince, when they please. To the 3d: In a politic consideration, the King and his people are not two, but one body politic, whereof the King is the head. And so far are they from contrariety, and opposite motions, that there is nothing good or ill for the one which is not just so for the other. If their ends and endeavours be divers, and never so little eccentric, either that

king inclineth to tyranny, or that people to disloyalty,—if they be contrary, it is mere tyranny or mere disloyalty. To the 4th: The King's prerogative and the subjects' privilege are so far from incompatibility, that the one can never stand unless supported by the other. For the Sovereign being strong, and in full possession of his lawful power and prerogative, is able to protect his subjects from oppression, and maintain their liberties entire; otherwise, not. On the other side, a people, enjoying freely their just liberties and privileges, maintaineth the prince's honour and prerogative out of the great affection they carry towards him; which is the greatest strength against foreign invasion, or intestine insurrection, that a prince can possibly be possessed with. To the 5th: It is a mere fallacy; for what is *essential* to one thing cannot be given to another. The eye may lose its sight, the ear its hearing, but can never be given to the hand, or foot, or any other member; and, as the head of the natural body may be deprived of *invention*, *judgment*, or *memory*, and the rest of the members receive no part thereof, so subjects, not being capable of the essential parts of government properly and primitively belonging to the prince, those being taken from him, they can never be imparted to them, without change of the government and the *essence and being of the same.* When a King is restrained from the lawful use of his power, and subjects can make no use of it—as *under a King* they cannot—what can follow but a subversion of government, —anarchy and confusion?

"Now, to any man that understands these things only, the *proceedings of these times* may seem strange, and he may expostulate with us thus:—

"Noblemen and gentlemen of good quality, what do you mean? Will you teach the people to put down the Lord's anointed, and lay violent hands on his authority to whom both you and they owe subjection, and assistance with your goods, lives, and fortunes, by all the laws of God and man? Do ye think to stand and domineer over the people, in an *aristocratic* way,—the people who owe you small or no obligation? It is you, *under your natural prince*, that get all employment pregnant of honour or profit, in peace or war. You are the subjects

of his liberality; your houses decayed, either by merit or his grace and favour are repaired, without which you fall in contempt; the people, jealous of their liberty, when you deserve best, to shelter themselves, will make you *shorter by the head*, or serve you with an ostracism. If their *first act be against kingly power, their next act will be against you.* For if the people be of a fierce nature, they will cut your throats; as the Switzers did of old; you shall be contemptible; as some of antient houses are in Holland, their very burgomaster is the better man; your honours—life—fortunes stand at the discretion of a *seditious preacher!*

"And you, ye *meaner people* of Scotland—who are not capable of a Republic, for many grave reasons—why are you induced by specious pretexts, to your own heavy prejudice and detriment, to be instruments of others' ambition? Do ye not know, when the monarchical government is shaken, the *great ones* strive for the garland with *your* blood and *your* fortunes? Whereby you gain nothing; but, instead of a race of kings who have governed you two thousand years with peace and justice, and have preserved your liberties against all domineering nations, shall purchase to yourselves *vultures and tigers* to reign over your posterity; and yourselves shall endure all those miseries, massacres, and proscriptions of the Triumvirate of Rome,—*the Kingdom fall again into the hands of* ONE, who of necessity must, and for reason of state will, tyrannize over you. For kingdoms acquired by blood and violence are by the same means retained.

"And you *great men*—if any such be among you so blinded with ambition—*who aim so high as the Crown*, do you think we are so far degenerate from the virtue, valour, and fidelity to our true and lawful Sovereign, so constantly entertained by our ancestors, as to suffer you, *with all your policy*, to reign over us? Take heed you be not Æsop's dog, and lose the cheese for the shadow in the well.[1]

"And thou *seditious preacher*, who studies to put the sovereignty in the people's hands for *thy own ambitious ends*,—as being able, by thy wicked eloquence and *hypocrisy*, to infuse into them what thou pleasest,—know this, that this people is

[1] Montrose was right. Hamilton and Argyle were both sneaking after the Crown of Scotland, and both were made "shorter by the head," as well as their King.

Matthäi

more incapable of sovereignty than any other known: Thou art abused like a pedant by the nimble-witted noblemen. Go, go along with *them* to shake the present government;[1]—not for *thy ends* to possess the *people* with it,—but, as a cunning tennis-player lets the ball go to the wall, where it *cannot stay*, that he may take it at the bound with more ease.[2]

"And whereas a durable peace with England—which is the wish and desire of all honest men—is pretended, surely it is a great solecism in us to aim at an end of peace with them, and overthrow the only means for that end.[3] It is the King's Majesty's sovereignty over both that unites us in affection, and is only able to reconcile questions among us when they fall. To endeavour the dissolution of that bond of our union, is nowise to establish a durable peace; but rather to procure enmity and war betwixt bordering nations, where occasions of quarrel are never wanting, nor men ever ready to take hold of them.

"Now, Sir, you have my opinion concerning your desire, and that which I esteem truth set down nakedly for your use, not adorned for public view. And if zeal for my Sovereign, and Country, have transported me a little too far, I hope you will excuse the errors proceeding from so good a cause of,

"Your humble servant,

"MONTROSE."[4]

[1] Meaning the *monarchical* form of government.

[2] An illustration derived from a favourite exercise of his college life; see before, p. 48.

[3] The treaty of Rippon commenced there 1st October 1640, and was continued and concluded in London in 1641.

[4] I found this letter in a small quarto volume of transcripts, in the handwriting of the Reverend Robert Wodrow, among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library. The transcript is neither dated nor addressed; but the reverend historian, who was certainly noways favourably inclined towards Montrose, has docqueted it with the title,—"Montrose, Marquis, Letter about the Sovereign and Supreme Power in Government." Wodrow has arranged it in his voluminous MS. collections, under the head, "Particular Dissertations, Essays, and Questions." Not only has this letter never entered history, but it is not referred to by any contemporary chronicler; nor is it anywhere alluded to by the transcriber himself, throughout that heterogeneous mass of his collected gossip called his *Analecta*. The authentication of it, however, does not rest entirely upon Wodrow; though to him we owe its preservation. The letter is identical, in the maxims, style, and even some of the sentences, with the letter of advice in another chapter from Montrose to the King. The two

There is something extraordinary and startling in this late discovery, that a young Scottish nobleman, only known to history as a daring cavalier who passed from his war-saddle to the scaffold, had, in the year 1640, pondered so deeply the problem of government, and prophesied so truly the issue of all violent democratic movements. What and where was Cromwell when Montrose wrote this letter? "The first time that ever I took notice of him," says good Sir Philip Warwick, "was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman; for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes: I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not), very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth-suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band, his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason." No further advanced was that great spirit of his age, at the very time when Montrose was predicating his advent, though he knew not the man. To us who look back, through the vista of long years, upon his iron Usurpation, and the subsequent Reign of Terror elsewhere,—to whom many a page of familiar history unfolds the bloody records of revolution, and who are taught to deduce

documents authenticate each other. To whom the above letter was written, is a question not now easy to determine. The address, "Noble Sir," seems to exclude the natural idea that his correspondent was a brother peer. Both at the commencement and the conclusion, there is the positive statement, that the learned and elaborate opinion thus given, had been expressly craved by letter. We shall afterwards find some reason for conjecturing that the "Noble Sir," the recipient of this dissertation, was Drummond of Hawthornden.

There is no difficulty in determining the date of the letter. The context proves that it was before the great civil war had commenced, and pending the negotiations between the King and the Commissioners, who met at Rippon on the 1st of October 1640, and concluded those negotiations in London, about the time of the King's visit to Scotland, in the summer of 1641. Obviously the letter had been written prior to that ill-fated progress, the result of which crushed all Montrose's conservative plans, and caused him to fly to arms in support of the Monarchy.

therefrom precious theories of Liberty,—Montrose's warning, against the headlong movement, may read like the trite and common-place invectives of a short-sighted partizan. But let it be remembered, that, in 1640, Charles was yet a King, and Cromwell not even a commander. The heads of Haddo, Huntly, and Hamilton were still on their shoulders. Those enlightened statesmen and historians of modern days who from time to time, and never so successfully as in our own age, have instructed and amused the world with their theories,—who teach the youth of England that they ought to revere the robber and the murderer, for planting the tree of Liberty, though watered with the blood of Nobles and of Kings,—yet slumbered in uncreated dust. When Montrose, with prophetic eloquence, was deprecating that barbarous zeal and unprincipled violence which paved the way for "ONE, who of necessity must, and for reasons of state will, tyrannize over you," he was not aware how he interfered with and vilified the hallowed sources of Fox's glory, and Macaulay's fame.

A cursory glance at Montrose's letter, or Essay, especially under the influence of vulgar notions respecting his character, might induce the belief that it was the extravagant tribute of a courtier to the divine hereditary right of Kings to do wrong. It was in the reign of James I., says Mr Macaulay, "that those strange theories which Filmer afterwards formed into a system, and which became the badge of the most violent class of Tories and high-Churchmen, first emerged into notice. It was gravely maintained that the Supreme Being regarded hereditary monarchy—as opposed to other forms of government—with peculiar favour; that the rule of succession, *in order of primogeniture*, was a divine institution, anterior to the Christian, and even to the Mosaic dispensation."[1] This, which our historian calls the badge of ultra-Tories and high-Churchmen, was at all events not the doctrine of Montrose, in that letter to the friend who had courted his learned opinion. His discourse is of "Supreme Power, in *Government of all sorts*." His object is to demonstrate the "sacred and inviolable nature of *Sovereignty*," as the indis-

[1] History of England, vol. i. p. 71. The historian here refers to the Political Discourses of Sir Robert Filmer, Bart., published in 1680, thirty years after the death of Montrose.

pensable bond of civil society; and he is anxious to do justice to this Heaven-suggested power, "in a time when so much is said and done to the disgrace and derogation of it." This is not the doctrine of the divine right of *primogeniture*, or even of *Kings* as opposed to other forms of government. Montrose, no doubt, was attached to the hereditary monarchical form of government, as the best of all. What English historian could condemn him for that predilection? But *an inviolable right of government*, "whether in the person of a *Monarch*, or in a *few principal men*, or in the *Estates of the People*," is the principle for which he contends. And to this general principle we shall find him again referring, in a letter to Charles I., when urging his Sovereign to come to Scotland in person, to settle the kingdom at this very time. But that supreme or sovereign power for which he contends, and which he declares to be "the truest image and representation of the power of Almighty God upon earth," he also declares to be "limited by the laws of God and Nature, and some laws of nations, and by the fundamental laws of the country, upon which sovereign power itself resteth—in prejudice of which a King can do nothing." And although he inculcates the doctrine of patience and passive obedience in subjects, as the best mode of the ultimate rectification of the machine deranged by "the Prince's power too far extended," he points at once to the proper constitutional and controlling balance, in "the *Parliaments*, which ever have been *the bulwarks of subjects' liberties in Monarchies*."

Montrose is the middle ages of British politics, compared with Hallam and Macaulay. Nevertheless, these enlightened historians of our own times might learn something from him yet.

CHAPTER XVI.

NARRATIVE OF A RENEWED CONSERVATIVE PLOT ON THE PART OF MONTROSE, AND HIS FAMILY CIRCLE—HIS OWN AND LORD NAPIER'S STATEMENT OF THE NATURE AND OBJECT OF THEIR PLOT—HIS CONFERENCE AT SCONE ABBEY WITH THE COVENANTING CLERGYMEN OF THE DISTRICT—RESULT OF THEIR MEETING—ARGYLE BRINGS THE MATTER BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES—COLLISION BETWEEN MONTROSE AND ARGYLE—LORD LINDSAY OF THE BYRES—JOHN STEWART OF LADYWELL EXAMINED AND IMPRISONED—HOW DEALT WITH IN PRISON—HIS RECANTATION—MONTROSE'S EMISSARY WALTER STEWART ARRESTED ON HIS RETURN FROM COURT—SECRET LETTER FROM SIR THOMAS HOPE OF KERSE TO JOHNSTON OF WARRISTON.

CLARENDON declares himself quite unable to detect "the ground of his Majesty's so positive and unalterable resolution of going to Scotland,"—which he did, with such fatal results, in the autumn of 1641. It proved, indeed, a rich harvest for the Argyle faction. Yet the step took them entirely by surprise, and was anything but welcome at the time. Archibald Johnston of Warriston, Procurator of the Kirk, was attending, in that important and lucrative capacity, the Commissioners of the treaty which had commenced at Rippon in October 1640, and which soon thereafter was removed to London. This most unscrupulous demagogue of the Troubles, was daily reporting progress, in private missives, addressed to the few elect in Edinburgh. His chief correspondents were, Lord Balmerino, Adam Hepburn of Humbie, and Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, the Lord Advocate's second son. These notables, of whom we have already made mention, were all devoted aids of Argyle, with ever wakeful regard, however, to their own individual interests. In his private correspondence, Warriston, half crazy with excitement at the prospect of Strafford's blood, and "getting money for us," urges his friends at home to be diligent and unremitting in all their arts of popular delusion, especially in

preparing fictitious impeachments, against every nobleman or gentleman who dared to cross their agitation with a breath of conservatism. Of course one particularly pointed at, and dreaded, was Montrose. The detection of the Cumbernauld Bond, indeed, had marked him for destruction. Although the eighteen noble signatures which are found along with his own, attached to that futile instrument, had proved a rope of sand, and he was immediately left alone to stand the storm, and endure the whole odium—a fact not creditable either to the consistency or courage of the nobility of Scotland—he was still regarded as the head of a party whom the Procurator of the Kirk, and the Argyle clique, termed "the Banders."

Alluding to these, Warriston, in a letter to Balmerino, dated from London 22d April 1641, tells his friends not to be alarmed at "this *trick* of their causing the King *profess* he would come to Scotland himself to settle business; which is a *trick of theirs* to terrify us, for fear of factions at home to grow by his presence."[1]

It was no trick, but the anxious and conscientious desire and design of Montrose, and a very few of his nearest connexions. These were so sanguine as to persuade themselves, that the presence of the Monarch himself in Scotland would alone suffice to paralyze the faction who they saw were hastening to dethrone him. Not only did Montrose avow his own instrumentality in causing Charles to come to Scotland in 1641; but when his exertions to that effect were libelled against him, as a point of *high treason*, he thus defended the measure, and its motives:—

"As for the reasons why it was done at all, they were sundry: For first it was ordinarily noised among the common people, and all the country over, that it was *not to be wished*

[1] *Original*, Advocates' Library. The letter is obviously written under great excitement, which will be understood from the following sentences: "The lower House has given up their bill—grows daily stouter—will not rise—*will have Strafford's life* —are thinking on *money for us*—This in post haste—*Lord encourage and direct them.*" The Procurator of the Kirk adds, with savage glee,—"Remember me to good Mr Hary Rollock, who I know will think with myself (who was aye said to be *blythe at evil news*) that business is going in *God's old way.*" Lord Hailes extracted this postscript for his very imperfect selection from these letters in the Advocates' Library, but had misread it thus,—"who was aye said to be blythe *as I did witness*;" which destroys both the sense, and Warriston's characteristic of himself.

the King should at this time find himself here; for that, say they, were for no other end but to make rent and division in the Public, and gain himself siders to reverse what formerly had been done: Which was so *ridiculous* as did justly confirm us in a contrary way and judgment; and oblige us, as it were, to use all lawful means in behalf of it. Besides, it is more than perfectly known that some *private persons*, contrary to the good of the Public, and their own professions, have by all means endeavoured the King's stay: For all which respects we thought ourselves obliged to endeavour it (his presence in Scotland) in so just and lawful a way."[1]

Montrose and his friend Lord Napier drew up between them the unanswerable Reply to the monster libel which was prepared against "the Plotters" in 1641, by the Procurator of the Kirk. From that defence the above extract is derived; and the document also contains so precise, simple, and truthful a statement, of this alleged plot of theirs against the religion and liberties of Scotland, that the thread of our story can be pursued in no form so fitting as their own words. The time is the commencement of the year 1641, immediately after Argyle's detection of the Cumbernauld bond, when that broader conservative alliance had been blown up by the wily arts and extraordinary power of the Dictator. It is only necessary further to premise, that the *dramatis personæ* were none other than a family party, in the frequent habit of supping together, sometimes in Montrose's lodgings in the Canongate, and sometimes in Lord Napier's castle of Merchiston, in the vicinity of Edinburgh. These were, Montrose himself; Lord Napier, who was his brother-in-law, and had been his guardian; Sir George Stirling of Keir, married to Montrose's niece, Napier's eldest daughter; and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall and Ardgowan, a Lord of Council and Session, married to Helen Stirling, the sister of Keir.

"The Earl of Montrose, Lord Naper, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, knights, having occasion to meet often, did then deplore the hard estate the

[1] Original draft, corrected in Montrose's own hand, and entitled, "Replies unto the libel in what does touch on fact." 1641–2. *Montrose Charter-room.*

country was in; our Religion not secured, and with it our Liberties being in danger; Laws silenced; Justice, and the course of Judicatories, obstructed; noblemen and gentlemen put to excessive charges above their abilities, and distracted from their private affairs; the course of traffic interrupted, to the undoing of merchants and tradesmen; moneyed men paid with faylies and suspensions; and, besides these present evils, fearing *worse to follow;* the *King's authority being much shaken* by the late troubles; knowing well that the necessary consequences and effects of a weak sovereign power are *anarchy and confusion;* the tyranny of subjects, the most *insatiable and insupportable tyranny of the world*, without hope of redress from the Prince, curbed and restrained from the lawful use of his power; factions and distractions within; opportunity to enemies abroad, and to ill-affected subjects at home, to kindle a fire in the state which hardly can be quenched—unless it please the Almighty of his great mercy to prevent it—without the ruin of *King, People, and State.*[1]

"These sensible evils begot in them thoughts of remedy. The best, they thought, was, that if his Majesty would be pleased *to come in person to Scotland*, and give his people satisfaction in point of Religion, and *just* Liberties, he should thereby settle his own authority, and cure all the distempers and distractions among his subjects. For they assured themselves that, the King giving God his due, and the people theirs, they would give Cæsar that which was his.

"While these thoughts and discourses were entertained among them, Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart came to the town, who was repairing to Court about his own business. Whereupon it was thought expedient to employ him to deal with the Duke of Lennox—being a Stuart, and one that was oft at Court they thought, but were deceived, that he was well known to the Duke—to persuade his Majesty's journey to Scotland for the effect foresaid. This, *upon our conscience and honour*, was the Lieutenant-Colonel's employment, and nothing else; although there was some other discourses to that purpose

[1] This was prophetic. It will be observed that some of the expressions in this statement are the same with some used by Montrose in his Letter upon Sovereign Power.

in the bye; as, that it was best his Majesty should keep up the Offices[1] vacand, till he had settled the affairs here; and the Lieutenant-Colonel proponed this difficulty, that our army lay in his way, and that his Majesty could not in honour pass through them; to which he got this present reply, that our Commissioners were at London; if the King did not agree with them, his Majesty would not come at all; but if he did agree, the army should be his army, and they would all lay down their arms at his feet. There is no man so far from the duty of a good subject, or so void of common sense, as to quarrel this matter. But the *manner* is mightily impugned, and aggravated by all the means that the malicious libeller can invent. It is *bonum*, says he, no man so impudent as can deny it; but it is not *benè;* and, therefore, 'The Plotters'—for with that odious name they design us—ought to be punished with loss of fame, life, lands, goods and gear, and be incapable of place, honour, or preferment,—a sore sentence any man will think, after the matter be well tried and discussed.

"This being the true relation in fact, anent those particulars which concern us all, we are confident that it will appear, albeit we should make no other answers, how calumnious and injurious our libel is; and how, at random, reproachful and wild words have been accumulated against us, without respect to our quality and eminence: which proves nothing against us, but reflecteth against the libeller."[2]

[1] The Offices of State.

[2] From the original draft, corrected in the handwriting of Montrose, found among the family archives, and collated with another draft in the handwriting of Archibald first Lord Napier, preserved in the Napier Charter-chest. These Replies answer in detail all the virulent and absurd farrago of the libel, which Johnston of Warriston came down from London to aid in concocting. It was, to use Montrose's own contemptuous and elegant characteristic of it, "made up of many sheets of paper, in respect of the huge rhapsodies of those *quisquiliæ volantes et venti spolia;*" that is, windy swirls of riff-raff and rubbish. When he comes to reply to what is specially applicable to himself, he thus notes his respect for his co-plotters, Lord Napier, Keir, and Blackhall:—

"Thus far I have gone along with these gentlemen, whose ways and actions I have ever known to be so fair, that the foul colours cast upon them in their libel shall never make me regret my accession to them, either in an active or passive way: But now, since the libeller, that hath left them, is not yet weary in libelling against me, I shall continue a little *in facto* concerning myself.

At the time when this family plotting was in progress, and shortly before Walter Stewart departed on his ill-fated mission to Court, our hero, about the commencement of the month of February 1641, went to pay a visit to Lord Stormont at Scone Abbey. To meet him there, came the loyal Earl of Athole, accompanied by his unfortunate friend and follower, John Stewart, younger of Ladywell, Commissary of Dunkeld. Both of these were smarting under the treacherous and oppressive treatment they had recently experienced at the hands of the chief of the Campbells, as narrated in a former chapter. About this conservative party—for Lord Stormont, too, was one of "the Banders"—there were hovering some ravens of the Covenant, ever on the look-out for prey. We have already made acquaintance with the Reverend Robert Murray, minister of Methven, the same who in 1637 "travailed to bring in" Montrose. He was the uncle, and constant correspondent, of that disreputable and mischievous character, William Murray of the Bedchamber, of whom our hero declared it to consist with his own certain knowledge, that, by means of making free with the King's pockets, he furnished the Covenanters with the fact, and the tenor, of the Earl's letter to his Majesty, in October 1640. This busy agitator, and two others of the same stamp, were holding sweet counsel together, on the engrossing subject of the "divisive" sayings and doings of Montrose, while the latter was visiting at Scone. These were Mr John Graham, minister of Auchterarder, near his own castle of Kincardine, and Mr John Robertson, one of the ministers of Perth. As clergymen belonging to the districts in which lay his own possessions, they were all well known to Montrose; who, feeling aggrieved by the clamour, and calumnies raised upon the "Band that was brunt," and directed entirely against himself, though but one of nineteen noblemen who had signed it, seized the present opportunity to clear himself, by explaining matters to these prominent ministers of the movement.

That state of his mind, indeed, seems to have hastened a sad and fearful crisis of the revolution in Scotland. We have seen how he tried the nerves of his military friend Colonel Cochrane, when riding between Chester and Newcastle along with the Commander-in-chief, by venturing to breathe the subject of the

burnt bond in such company. So he now desired to unburden himself of the same feelings to his old friend the minister of Methven; with whom, accordingly, he held a conference on the subject, in the town of Perth, during his visit at Scone. From the original record of that clergyman's deposition, before a covenanting committee, the principal details of their conversation have already been quoted.[1] Further the reverend gentleman deponed, that his colloquy with the conservative Earl was renewed on the following day at Scone Abbey, in hearing of the minister of Perth, while the minister of Auchterarder stood somewhat apart, watching the scene. At the height of the discussion, a domestic approached the group with the announcement that dinner was waiting for the Earl of Montrose. Obliged to separate in consequence, "the deponer," proceeds Mr Murray, in his deposition before the committee, "entreated his Lordship to *unity:* The Earl answered, he loved unity, and would clear himself before the Parliament and General Assembly: The deponer alleged it would hinder the settling of the common cause.[2] He answered, he should do it in such a way as could not wrong the Public; because he would not make his *challenge* till the public business was settled; and then he would put it off himself, and *lay it on those who had calumniated him:* This conference ended, the Earl went to dinner, and the deponer went to Perth."

Thus the "noble and true-hearted cavalier," as Rothes originally characterised him, in this hasty parlance, while dinner was cooling and guests waiting, had prematurely disclosed his hostile plans, to the very persons who were most likely to bring that to nought, and him to grief. Had he so delivered himself after dinner, it would have been less surprising. His rashness is the more remarkable, that by this time he had become thoroughly cognizant of the entire subserviency of the covenanting preachers to the regime of Argyle in Scotland. The date of this conversation is contemporaneous with his constitutional dissertation, in that letter, on Sovereign power, to a friend,

[1] See before, p. 263.

[2] By "the common cause," was meant the particular views, and personal objects of the Argyle faction; or, as Montrose termed it, "the particular and indirect practising of a few."

which we have disclosed in the last chapter. And there, with an emphasis which the whole history of Scotland tends to justify, we find him apostrophising those pulpit agitators as "thou *seditious preacher*, who studies to put the sovereignty in the people's hands for thy own ambitious ends, as being able, by thy wicked eloquence and hypocrisy, to infuse into them what thou pleasest." The three covenanting clergymen mentioned above, were not indeed of the very vicious order, such as Cant, Law, James Guthrie, Neave, and others, who may be said to have erected the shambles of the Covenant,—

> "Preachers, not Pastors, redolent of blood,
> Who cried, 'Sweet Jesu,' in their murderous mood,
> Canting, self-seeking, Christ-caressing crew,
> That from the Book of Life, death-warrants drew,
> Obscured the fount of Truth, and left the trace
> Of gory fingers on the page of Grace,"—

but they were sufficiently imbued with the spirit of their sect, and entirely under the dominion of Argyle, and the Procurator of the Kirk.

The minister of Methven was followed to Perth, that same evening, by him of Auchterarder, impatient to be fully informed as to that conference, the animation of which he had witnessed at Scone, without hearing what had passed.

"My Lord and you were *hot*,"—fished the Reverend John Graham: "I was not *hot*, but *plain*," replied Murray, "and my Lord took it all well." To these flocked two other ravens of the Covenant, Mr David Drummond and Mr George Mushet; and, "the said Mr David and Mr George having heard that he had *spoken with the Earl*, asked how he was satisfied? The deponer replied, that he *loved not to speak of that purpose*; but, that they might know how he was satisfied, he said, 'I shall tell you the story, and judge you yourselves how I am satisfied;' and thereafter related to them the sum of the conference above deponed."

At the very next meeting of the Presbytery of Auchterarder —classic ground in the history of such troubles—the Reverend John Graham went out of his way to harangue the assembled ministers and elders, in a pharisaical speech, which, professing

to be an apology for the alleged divisive courses of the neighbouring Earl, and a smoother of conflicting elements of the cause, did in point of fact put the whole Church of Scotland completely *au fait* as to Montrose's hostile intentions towards Argyle, at the ensuing meeting of Parliament. What was so bruited in the Kirk could not long be withheld from its King. At the requisition of that potentate, an order, dated 19th May 1641, was served upon the reverend gentleman to compear forthwith in Edinburgh, and there give an account, to a covenanting committee, of the speech he had made to the Presbytery of Auchterarder.

Then arose a storm that ceased not until it desolated the kingdom. The future champion of the Throne was thus brought into direct and violent collision with its arch-enemy. The minister of Auchterarder quoted the minister of Methven. He too was summoned. The minister of Methven quoted the Earl of Montrose; and, on the 27th of May 1641, our hero found himself face to face with "King Campbell," in presence of a select committee of Estates, of that worthy's own packing.

It was the first and last time that Argyle ever faced Montrose; but most assuredly he came off victorious. We recommend the scene to an historical painter. The grim Earl was, in the first instance, imposingly called upon to give his reasons for demanding this enquiry. He assigned, a scandal and calumny against himself, that, at the ford of Lyon, he had spoken of deposing King Charles, which scandal had been published by the minister of Auchterarder to his own Presbytery. That clergyman, after excusing himself in great tribulation, and with the utmost humility, gave for his authority the minister of Methven. So, "Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven, being come to Edinburgh upon Wednesday last, at night, upon other occasions, was called off the streets upon Thursday the 27th of May instant (1641), to compear before the Committee of Estates; and having appeared before them, was told by their Lordships, that Mr John Graham, minister of Auchterarder, being examined by their Lordships upon the author of his speeches, which he spake before the Presbytery of Auchterarder, gave up the said Mr Robert as his author."

Nothing as yet, throughout the examinations, had occurred directly to implicate Montrose with Argyle, but all knew what was coming. Murray fought shy, fenced, and coquetted, and pleading that the Auchterarder informant had many other authors, and need not have quoted him, begged to be excused. The latter, however, refused to quit his hold of the minister of Methven. And now Montrose, impatient and disgusted, struck in with his usual bravery: "Come, come, Mr Murray, emit your declaration without more ado; you know very well that you can soon put it off *your* hands."—"Whereupon Mr Robert," as doubtless our hero had anticipated, "answered,—'Then it is *your Lordship* must take it off my hand; therefore, my Lord, tell your part, and I shall tell mine.'"

This order of proceeding, however, the fearless and high-minded nobleman declined, with peremptory dignity, and insisted upon Mr Murray at once declaring whatever he had to say on the subject. Whereupon, the reverend uncle and correspondent of "little Will Murray of the Bedchamber" emitted that momentous declaration, the chief details of which we have already laid before our readers.

Without the slightest hesitation, and with perfect self-possession, Montrose himself corroborated the substance of this clergyman's story; and then he proceeded to recapitulate the various circumstances which had induced him to attempt the conservative union at Cumbernauld. Still the name of Argyle had not been introduced, and Gillespic Gruamach had not yet found his time to interfere. But when Montrose had thus frankly relieved the minister of Methven, the delicate question was put to him, whether he had named the Earl of Argyle? "I did name the Earl of Argyle," was his unhesitating reply: "I named Argyle as the man who was to have the rule benorth Forth, and as the man who discoursed of deposing the King: But I am not the author or inventor of these things; I will lay it down at the right door: What I told Mr Robert Murray was, that some of the particulars of my statement were consistent with my own knowledge; that there were ten or twelve others who would bear me witness; and that, with regard to all I had asserted, there would be some one to prove, or to take it off my hands."

This brought matters nearer the crisis. The Earl was then required to produce *his* author. "Since I am desired to do so," said Montrose, "and having named the Earl of Argyle, which I was forced to do, I have to request that he now express his own knowledge of this business." The burst of passion which this cautious and courteous appeal elicited, is thus noted by the clerk of that committee, which was entirely devoted to Argyle :—

"The Earl of Argyle answered, that he thought it incumbent to clear himself, and would do it * * * * * the committee would appoint him. The Earl of Argyle, by his oath *unrequired*, declared that * * * * * heard of such a matter; and would make it good that * * * * * who would say that he was the man spoke of deposing * * * of his knowledge of these bonds, was *a liar*, and a *base* * * * ."[1]

Montrose, noways frightened out of his propriety by this tirade, repeated with the utmost composure his four reasons for the conservative bond. He was unwilling, he said, to speak more of the *Dictatorship*, because his author with regard to that particular was not in town. Being pressed on the subject, however, he reluctantly named Lord Lindsay of the Byres. He then proceeded to detail the conversation we have elsewhere noted;[2] adding, at the same time, that he did not understand his Lordship to state it as a positive fact, but only as a matter of likelihood or suspicion. With regard to Argyle's discourse on the subject of deposing the King, he declared that he received his information from Mr John Stewart, younger of Ladywell, who gave him some of the particulars in writing; and further, he said that what Stewart communicated, had occurred in presence of Ogilvy of Inchmartin, Sir Thomas Stewart, younger of Grandtully, and twenty or thirty other gentlemen: With regard to the bonds of fealty to subjects, pressed at various times, he referred to Argyle himself, to the Lairds of Lawers, Glenorchy, and Comrie; and as to that for cantoning the country, and bestowing the rule benorth Forth upon Argyle, he referred to the

[1] Unfortunately the manuscript is destroyed by damp, in those places where the vacancies occur in our print of it. The last epithet applied by Argyle, which doubtless was energetic, must be left to the imagination of the reader.

[2] See before, p. 264.

Earls of Mar and Cassilis, Archibald Campbell, who was present when it was framed, and Mr Adam Hepburn of Humbie.

A pretty kettle of fish! Who was to be the unfortunate *last*, in this game at leap-frog? Indeed it was rather "the devil take the hindmost." For woe betide the man, or nobleman, who, from not being able to produce "his author," and to "put it off himself," was to be left in the hands of Argyle, and his select committees, and their murderous interpretation of the old statutes of leasing-making. Montrose himself seems to have been very sensible of this; for, lest his principal informant should haply be tampered with, or amissing altogether, he lost not a moment, after the above scene, in producing him bodily before the committee. The Commissary of Dunkeld stood stoutly to his text. At his examination, on the 31st of May 1641, he "subscribed a paper bearing all that Montrose had affirmed in his name; whereupon Argyle broke out into a passion, and with great oaths denied *the whole and every part thereof, whereat many wondered.*"[1] Still his victim was undaunted. "My Lord," said John Stewart, "I heard you speak these words in Athole, in presence of a great many people, *whereof you are in good memory.*"[2] The Laird of Ladywell's days were numbered. No sooner had he put his name to his informations than he was sent to prison, at the nod of King Campbell, against whom all this inquisitorial jealousy and activity was never for an instant directed. There was just as good reason for sending Argyle to prison. Better, indeed; for by Leslie's articles of war, to breathe a word against the King's Majesty or authority, was punishable with death; and Argyle, like Montrose, was, upon the occasion in question, acting under a subordinate military commission. But might made right.

We must now develope another scene in this drama of covenanting justice. Lord Lindsay, whom Montrose had most reluctantly named in his absence, was placed in an awkward predicament. The conservative Earl had affirmed that Lindsay

[1] Guthrie. This contemporary account of Argyle's undignified violence, is well corroborated by what we have previously quoted from the original record of the examinations which occurred on the 27th of May.

[2] Spalding.

mentioned the Earl of Argyle as the person who was to be Dictator; and Argyle had volunteered his great oath that all this was a foul calumny. Who was the calumniator? The covenanting committee were annoyed and perplexed, for Lindsay was a leader of the movement. Yet the evidence of Montrose was not to be easily discredited. It was not for the King's interest that the affair was followed out, but purely for the sake of Argyle. The rumour had gained ground that the King intended to open the Scotch Parliament in person. Montrose himself had now avowed his intention to lay these matters before the Parliament. Argyle's life, indeed, under existing circumstances, was not likely to be in much jeopardy, for any treason he had uttered or designed. But great Offices of State and Session, which the lawless acts of the late Parliament, against the so called "Incendiaries," had rendered vacant, were remaining to be filled up by his Majesty. And if this awkward state of antagonism, or rivalry, between King Stewart and King Campbell, were to be illustrated in presence of the Sovereign presiding in Parliament, by such an energetic accuser as Montrose, Argyle's position in the country, and the propriety of allowing him to have any accredited rule at all, either benorth or besouth Forth, might be rendered too questionable. He was to be cleared, therefore, at all hazards, before his Majesty should arrive in Scotland; and it now remained for Lord Lindsay of the Byres to extricate himself and the faction from the scandal, in so far as he was involved.

Accordingly:—"4th June 1641: In presence of the committee; the Lord Lindsay desired to know if the committee had *any thing to speak to his Lordship*, because he was to go to Newcastle: Whereupon the question *fell in* anent the speeches related by the Earl of Montrose, to have been spoken by him concerning a *Dictator*, whether the Lord Lindsay should answer to that, or if it were such a matter as merits to be agitated." The committee, it will be observed, were not so scrupulous about agitating the matter of Montrose's private conversations. The record of this affair proceeds to say, that "The Lord Lindsay desired to know what was spoken by the Earl of Montrose which reflected upon him, before anything was done: Ac-

cording whereunto the paper (with Montrose's declaration) was read, and delivered to him, that he might consider thereof." The substance of Montrose's recollection of this conversation, and Lindsay's qualification, we have already had occasion to quote.[1] The former eventually adhered, with equal firmness and courtesy, to his own recollection, that Argyle was actually suggested by name as Dictator. Lord Lindsay denied that he had named the dangerous potentate; but the details of what he did admit could bear no other interpretation, and so on this point also our hero was substantially confirmed in his statement by the nobleman whom he had quoted. The mode in which the Committee of Estates eventually *assoilzied* their "prime Covenanter," is somewhat amusing:—

"At Edinburgh, 7th June 1641: The Committee, having considered the Earl of Montrose, and the Lord Lindsay, their declarations, &c., and having compared them together, find, that *as it is possible* the Earl of Montrose has mistaken the Lord Lindsay's expression, so they find, by the words which the Lord Lindsay remembers and has set down under his hand, that *there was no ground for the said misconception.*

"*Sir A. Gibsone, I.P.D.*"[2]

It remained to deal with the unhappy Commissary of Dunkeld. The genius of the Ladywell had deserted him. He seemed not to know, what Montrose knew so well, that courage and constancy are the best protection under critical and dangerous circumstances. He recanted, in order to save his life, and the consequence was that he lost it. The Reverend Henry Guthrie, then minister of Stirling, who was of great comfort to him during the last days of his life, and attended him on the scaffold, has left this account of the means by which he had been induced to sign his own death-warrant:—

[1] See before, p. 265.

[2] *Original MS.* It is remarkable, that Sir Thomas Hope's conversation at Newcastle, Argyle's conversation in his tent at the ford of Lyon, and Lord Lindsay's conversation with Montrose, all occurring at the same crisis, and of obvious application to deposing Charles Stewart, were all excused on the same plea, namely, as having been a *general* discourse, not intending the *particular application.*

" My Lord Balmerino, and my Lord Durie, being sent from the committee to the castle to examine him, they did try another way with him, that he would rather take a *tache* upon himself than let Argyle lie under such a blunder. Being both profound men, they knew well what arguments to use for that effect; and Mr John considering, upon the one part, that Argyle's power was such, that he could not only preserve his life, but also raise him to preferment—if, for the clearing him, he should convict himself—and, on the other part, that a wonder lasts but nine nights in a town, as we use to say,—therefore he condescended to the motion, and the next day wrote a letter to the Earl of Argyle, wherein he cleared him of those speeches, and acknowledged that himself had forged them out of malice to his Lordship; and he likewise confessed, that, by advice and counsel of the Earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, he had sent a copy of those speeches under his hand *to the King*, by one Captain Walter Stewart. The Earl of Argyle having communicated his letter to the committee, they set watches to attend that Captain's return; who, catching him at Cockburn's Path, and finding his letters, brought him and them both before the committee, and being examined there, he was sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh."[1]

This melancholy story, and most critical juncture in the life of our hero, the recovery of many original documents, hitherto unpublished and unknown, enables us fully to illustrate. The difficulty is to do so, from such voluminous materials, within a compass proportional to the limits of this biography. Our present chapter must conclude with a curious letter, which the foregoing narrative will render sufficiently intelligible. We may premise, that it is addressed to a brother lawyer, brother factionist, and brother fanatic, the Procurator of the Kirk, then in London, by a writer who is none other than Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, the Lord Advocate's second son. He chooses to correspond under the fictitious signature " A. B." But the armorial seal displays the three besants of Hope; which reminds us of the bird that hid his head and forgot his tail.

[1] Bishop Guthrie is generally corroborated by the original letters and depositions, which are among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library.

" Worthy Brother,

" We had many *strange businesses* in hand here this last week. They began at Mr John Graham, minister of Auchterarder, who was called to give an account of some speeches spoken in that Presbytery, and gave Mr Robert Murray for his authority. Mr Robert gave the *Earl of Montrose* for his, and Montrose declared that he had the same partly from Mr John Stewart of Ladywell, and partly from my Lord Lindsay. Mr John Stewart being sent for and examined, made a terrible calumnious relation, of some speeches which he alleged were spoken by the Earl of Argyle at his expedition in Athole, of no less moment than the deposing of the King. He confessed he gave a copy of his relation to the Earl of Montrose, and another to Walter Stewart (*my man*),[1] to be given to the Earl of Traquair. Walter was happily rancountered, upon Friday, betwixt Cokburn's Path and Haddington, by one was *sent expressly to meet him*, and conveyed to Balmerino's lodgings at nine o'clock at night, where I was the first man that came in after him, about some other business with my Lord. After he denied he had any more papers than were in his cloth-bag, there was a leather-bag found in the pannel of his saddle, wherein was a letter *from the King to Montrose;*[2] a letter to himself (Stewart), written from Colonel Cochrane, at Newcastle, to London; and a signature of the chamberlainry of the Bishop of Dunkeld to Mr John Stewart, with a blank for a pension, but not signed by the King's hand. After many shifts, being convinced by some notes under his own hand, which were found in his pocket—and which, with astonishment, he swore he thought had not been in the world—he *was brought to promise plain dealing*, and deponed as ye will find in the papers sent by Humbie. But, I believe, he has not *dealt truly* in all the points. Specially, I doubt the interpretation of A.B.C., by which he says are meant *the Banders;* and of the viper in the King's bosom, by which he means Canterbury, which *I believe not.* I will not touch any more of the particulars, because you will find them in the copies of the papers. Mr John Stewart has since confessed his knavery in the general,

[1] Meaning, the man who reported his conversation on the subject of the trial and deposition of kings. See before, p. 267.

[2] See the letter, very recently recovered, at p. 316.

but has not yet cleared the particulars.[1] The point for the which Montrose alleges Lindsay's authority is not yet cleared.[2] It was concerning the *Dictator*, whom he alleges should have been *Argyle*, as he then said *positivè*, in his declaration, my Lord Lindsay named him. But since he heard Lindsay, he says he *believes* he did name him, at *the least* he conceives he meant him —and he refers to his oath he did mean him. I think it shall resolve in nothing, or a *very little something*. I believe this business shall prove deeper than yet is found, for *the Lord, it seems, will have all these ways brought to light*. I have no other thing that I remember for the present, which I know you have not heard; and the most part of this, if not all, you will have from others. But a *good tale* twice told is tolerable. I remain, as ever, your real friend to be commanded,

"*Edinr.* 7 *June* 1641." "A. B."

"P. S.—Walter Stewart has craved a pardon for *the wrong he did me*, and has set down the words which past betwixt us, under his hand, whereof I have sent the authentic copy to my brother, which you may have from him if ye desire to see it."[3]

[1] For a good reason,—he had to consider *what particulars* were most likely to save him from the fangs of Argyle and the committee-government of Scotland.

[2] But the committee had cleared it, of the very date of this letter. See before, p. 306.

[3] This important letter had not even been observed by Lord Hailes, when examining the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library in reference to the history of the period. Wodrow, who had preserved it amongst his voluminous manuscript collections, now in the Advocates' Library, was not aware that the writer was Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse. He notes it, in his index, as a letter to Warriston from "his brother." The writer is identified by his reference to Walter Stewart as "my man." See before, p. 267.

CHAPTER XVII.

NATURE OF THE PLOT FOR WHICH MONTROSE WAS IMPRISONED IN 1641—HIS LETTER TO CHARLES THE FIRST, INCULCATING THE NECESSITY OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRESENCE IN SCOTLAND—LETTER FROM THE KING TO ARGYLE, DENYING THE EXISTENCE OF ANY PLOT BETWEEN MONTROSE AND TRAQUAIR—LETTER FROM THE KING TO MONTROSE, OF WHICH THE MESSENGER WAS ROBBED BY THE COVENANTERS—EMPHATIC DENIAL BY TRAQUAIR OF ANY PLOTTING WITH MONTROSE—NATURE OF WALTER STEWART'S EVIDENCE—HOW DISHONESTLY COMPELLED, AND CONCOCTED—CHARACTER OF TRAQUAIR—HIS CHARACTER OF WALTER STEWART—RASHNESS OF MONTROSE AND HIS FRIENDS IN MAKING USE OF HIM—RIDICULOUS CHARACTER OF HIS MYSTICAL PAPERS FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO MONTROSE—ARGYLE'S SUPREMACY—MONTROSE, NAPIER, SIR GEORGE STIRLING OF KEIR, AND SIR ARCHIBALD STEWART OF BLACKHALL, IMPRISONED—MONTROSE'S INFORMER CUT OFF.

TOWARDS the close of the letter with which our last chapter concludes, there is a paragraph wherein "A. B." seems to contradict himself. But he is writing under as great a flutter of spirits as if he had discovered the longitude. What he means is this: The allegation against *Argyle* will turn out to be no high treason at all, or only a *very little* high treason; but as for the suspicion against *Montrose*, that would be verified in the discovery of a deep plot, brought to light by the special interposition of the Almighty. This is very characteristic, and a good commentary on the whole affair. It is precisely the issue to which King Campbell, and his prime minister, the Procurator for the Kirk, determined that matters should be brought, whatever might be the truth and justice of the case.

Of our hero's secret correspondence with his Sovereign, we have been so fortunate as to recover the most essential portions; and certainly they contrast not unfavourably for "the Plotters," with the missives passing between the plotters on the other side. They were all plotting; but the question is,

who were the "honourable men?" Montrose's own account of the nature and extent of his conspiracy, we have already produced. It bears the stamp of truth on the face of it. But that can now be illustrated, and verified by written evidence, of the precise advice which at this momentous crisis he had offered privately to the King:—

"SIR,

"Your antient and native kingdom of Scotland is in a mighty distemper. It is incumbent to your Majesty to find out the disease, remove the causes, and apply convenient remedies. The disease, in my opinion,[1] is *contagious*, and may infect the rest of your Majesty's dominions. It is the falling sickness; for they are like to fall from you, and from the obedience due to you, if, by removing the cause, and application of wholesome remedies, it be not speedily prevented. The cause is a fear and apprehension, not without some reason, of changes in religion, and that superstitious worship shall be brought in upon it, and therewith all their laws infringed, and their liberties invaded. Free them, Sir, from this fear, as you are free from any such thoughts; and undoubtedly you shall thereby settle that State in a firm obedience to your Majesty in all time coming. They have no other end but to preserve their Religion in purity, and their Liberties entire. That they intend the overthrow of monarchical government, is a calumny.[2] They are capable of no other, for many and great reasons; and ere they will admit another than your Majesty, and, after you, your son, and nearest of your posterity, to sit upon that throne, *many thousands of them will spend their dearest blood.* You are not like a tree lately planted, which oweth the fall to the first wind. Your ancestors have governed there, without interruption of race, two thousand years, or thereabout, and taken such root as it can never be plucked up by any but yourselves. If any other shall entertain such treasonable thoughts, which I do not believe, certainly they will prove as vain as they are wicked.

[1] The use of the singular person here, indicates that the letter had been written in the name of Montrose only, and not of all "the Plotters."

[2] This is stated in favour of the Scottish nation generally, not of the covenanting faction.

"The remedy of this dangerous disease consisteth only in your Majesty's presence for a space in that kingdom. It is easy to you in person to settle these troubles, and to disperse these mists of apprehension and mistaking,—*impossible* to any other. If you send down a Commissioner, whatever he be, he shall neither give nor get contentment, but shall render the disease incurable. The success of your Majesty's affairs, the security of your authority, the peace and happiness of your subjects, depend upon your *personal presence*. The disease is of that kind which is much helped by *conceit* (imagination) and the presence of the physician. *Now* is the proper time, and the critical days. For the people love change, and expect from it much good,—a new heaven and a new earth,—but, being disappointed, are as desirous of a re-change to the former estate. Satisfy them, Sir, in point of Religion and Liberties, when you come there, in a loving and free manner; that they may see your Majesty had never any other purpose, and doth not intend the least prejudice to either. For religious subjects, and such as enjoy their lawful liberties, obey better, and love more than the godless and servile; who do all out of base fear, which begets hate. Any difference that may arise upon the acts passed in the last Parliament, your Majesty's presence, and the advice and endeavours of your faithful servants, will easily accommodate. Let your Majesty be pleased to express your favour, and care of your subjects' weal, by giving way to any just motion of their's for relief of the burdens these late troubles have laid upon them, or by granting what else may tend to their good; which your Majesty may do with assurance that therein is included your own.

"*Suffer them not to meddle or dispute of your power.* It is an instrument never subjects yet handled well. Let not your authority receive any diminution of that which the law of God and nature, and the fundamental laws of the country, alloweth: For then it shall grow contemptible; and weak and miserable is that people whose prince hath not power sufficient to punish oppression, and to maintain peace and justice. On the other side, aim not at absoluteness: It endangers your estate, and stirs up troubles: The people of the western parts of the world could never endure it any long time, and they of Scotland less than

any. Hearken not to Rehoboam's counsellors: They are flatterers, and therefore cannot be friends: They follow your *fortune*, and love not your person: Pretend what they will, their hasty ambition and avarice make them persuade an absolute government, that the exercise of the same [may be put up] on them, and then they know how to get wealth,—[1]

* * * * * * * *

"Practice, Sir, the temperate government. It fitteth the humour and disposition of the nation best. It is most strong, most powerful, and most durable of any. It gladdeth the heart of your subjects, and then they erect a throne there for you to reign: *Firmissimum imperium quo obedientes gaudent.*[2] Let your *last act* there be the settling the Offices of State upon men of known integrity and sufficiency. Take them not upon credit, and other men's recommendation; they prefer men for *their own ends*, and with respect to *themselves*. Neither yet take them at hazard; but upon your own knowledge, which fully reacheth to a great many more than will fill those few places. Let them not be such as are obliged to others than yourself for their preferment: Not *factious* nor *popular;* neither such as are *much hated;* for these are not able to serve you well, and the others are not willing if it be prejudice to those upon whom they depend. They who are preferred, and obliged to your Majesty, will study to behave them well and dutifully in their places, if it were for no other reason yet for this, that they make not your Majesty ashamed of your choice. So shall your Majesty secure your authority for the present, and settle it for the future time: Your journey shall be prosperous, your return glorious: You shall be followed with the blessings of your people, and with that contentment which a virtuous deed reflecteth upon the mind of the doer: And more true and solid shall your glory be than if you had conquered nations, and subdued a people.

"——— Pax una, Triumphis
Innumeris potior."[3]

[1] There is here about two lines destroyed in the manuscript, which appears to have suffered from fire. The blank may be thus supplied from *a corresponding passage* in the Letter by Montrose on Sovereign Power:—"*robbing thereby the people of their wealth, the King of the people's love due to him, and of the honour and reputation of wisdom.*" See before, p. 283.

[2] The happiness of the subject is the best security of the Throne.

[3] To have once effected peace is better than a thousand triumphs.

This noble letter we have printed from a draft or copy, in the handwriting of Archibald first Lord Napier, and found among the Napier papers. A few of the expressions being identical with some occurring in the letter on Sovereign power, and the style throughout very similar, we must refer the composition to Montrose. It had been framed most probably in conjunction with his guide, philosopher, and friend; and submitted to the anxious consideration of the family party of plotters. Whether it reached its destination we cannot absolutely determine. But supposing it was never even sent, the illustration is not the less valuable to the biography of our hero. Candour will admit that it completes the proof of the patriotic nature of their designs, and the perfect integrity of their intentions. It is simply a repetition of those high-minded and philosophical views, which Montrose had made patent to the world, as his political principles, and motives of action, whether in elaborate dissertations to some "Noble Sir" who had courted his opinion, or when publicly opposing, in his place in Parliament, the political dogmas,—verging, to say the least, upon treasonable designs,—of such patriots as Argyle, Rothes, Balmerino, and Archibald Johnston of Warriston.

When Charles the First heard of this *fracas* in Scotland, perfectly comprehending the drift of it, in reference to the violent opposition offered by the Procurator of the Kirk to any act of oblivion which would benefit Traquair, and the so called Incendiaries, and practically acknowledging who was King *de facto* in his native kingdom, he thus condescended to write with his own hand to the Lord of Inverara:—

"ARGYLE:—

"I am informed that one Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, employed here (as it is said) by the Earl of Montrose, has deponed something of his dealing with Traquair, and that by him I should have given assurance of disposing of some vacant places, to such persons as was joined in a late bond with the Earl of Montrose; thereby insinuating that my journey to Scotland was only desired and procured by Montrose and Traquair; and likewise that my intent therein is rather to make and further *parties*, than to receive from and give contentment to my subjects.

Now since that, by the grace of God, I have resolved of my journey to Scotland, it makes me the more curious that my actions and intentions be not misconceived by my subjects there. Therefore, in the first place, I think fit to tell you, that I intend my journey to Scotland for the settling of the affairs of that kingdom according to the articles of the treaty, and in such a way as may establish the affections of my people fully to me; and I am so far from intending division by my journey, that I mean so to establish peace in the State, and religion in the Church, that there may be a happy harmony amongst my subjects there. Secondly, *I never made any particular promise for the disposing of any places in that kingdom*, but mean to dispose them for the best advantage of my service; and therein I hope to give satisfaction to my subjects. And as for my letter to Montrose, *I do avow it*, as fit for me to write, both for the *matter*, and for *the person to whom it is written*; who, for anything I yet know, *is no ways unworthy of such a favour*. Thus having cleared my intentions to you as my particular servant,[1] I expect that, as occasion may serve, you may help to clear those mistakes of me which upon this occasion may arise. Lastly: For the preparation for my coming home, I do rather mention it to shew the constant resolution of my journey, than in any doubt of your diligence therein: And so I rest,

"Your assured friend,

"CHARLES R."

"Whitehall, the 12 of June 1641."

On the day before the date of this letter, our hero, under circumstances to be immediately narrated, had been sent, by the Argyle government, as a state prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. The die was now cast. *Per fas aut nefas* he must be there detained so long as it suited the objects of the faction, upon rumoured charges of high crimes and misdemeanours, which were never brought to trial, and indeed not intended to be so. The above letter, exonerating, and so justly appre-

[1] Argyle was a privy-counsellor. We find this letter in the collection of "Letters to the Argyle Family," printed for the Maitland Club in 1839, but without any attempt to connect them with history. The letter has at length found its proper place.

ciating the character of Montrose, must have been gall and wormwood to Argyle. It did not arrest the progress of his "far designs" for a moment. Since the time when that messenger was robbed and sent to prison, two centuries and a half ago, nothing more had been heard of it. That it still existed was not known. Had the contents been other than what the King so emphatically declared, the Covenanters would have proclaimed them to the world. But the letter itself has been at length discovered, and the reader will judge:—

"MONTROSE:—

"I conceive that nothing can conduce more to a firm and solid peace, and giving full contentment and satisfaction to my people, than that I should be present at the next ensuing session of Parliament. This being *the reason of my journey*, and having *a perfect intention to satisfy my people in their religion and just liberties*, I do expect from them that retribution of thankfulness, as becomes grateful and devoteful subjects: Which being a business, wherein not only my service, but likewise the good of the whole kingdom is so much concerned, I cannot but expect that your particular endeavours will be herein concurring. In confidence of which, I rest your assured friend,

"CHARLES R."

"Whitehall, the 22d of May 1641."

"For Montrose."[1]

This, though very concise, so nearly coincides with some of the phraseology of Montrose's advice to the King, as to induce the belief that the advice was sent, and that this was the answer. Walter Stewart, although his story was false as to the written instructions which he said he had received, did no doubt carry a packet from Montrose to the Duke of Lennox, the medium of

[1] *Original*, autograph of Charles I. Montrose's biography had not the benefit of this letter, until I discovered it in the course of the latest researches among the family archives. That it was found there, is not conclusive proof that Montrose himself had ever been allowed to obtain it. Many royal letters addressed to him have been recovered by the Ducal family, at various times. The letter is much crumpled, and very dirty, probably the effects of Walter Stewart's saddle, and from having been in the hands of those who robbed the messenger.

"the Plotters" communication with his Majesty, as they themselves admitted.

The Earl of Traquair, too, at once pronounced Walter Stewart's story to be a silly falsehood. That nobleman was earnestly corroborated by the King. His Majesty assured the Scotch Commissioners for the treaty in London, upon "his trust and credit," that there was no foundation for the puerile charge. They reported accordingly to the Committees at Edinburgh and Newcastle, before the King arrived in Scotland. On the 16th of June 1641, they wrote,—"The King denies his knowledge of these plots betwixt the Earls of Montrose and Traquair; and we heard that Traquair doth likewise *pertinaciously* deny that wherewith he is charged." We do not find that Argyle reported, either to Commissioners or Committees, that he had in his pocket a letter from the King himself, dated on the 12th of that month, honouring him with the same assurance, in terms which must have found a ready assent in any truthful and honourable mind. And the cool effrontery of these Commissioners, over-ridden as they were by the Procurator of the Kirk, is certainly unparalleled in any age of faction, when, in the face of such authority they add, by way of neutralizing the evidence which they report,—"But it is not likely that Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart, his relation to the Earl of Traquair being considered, would have invented them!"[1] That puerile and dishonest platitude was actually adopted as an argument in the voluminous libel prepared by Warriston for the impeachment of this nobleman; who met it with the following contemptuous and somewhat humorous reply:—

"That such *scribblings* of Walter Stewart should give a ground for such pursuit of *treason*, appears to be without example. The Earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, have upon oath declared that he had never any direction from them to me: And if any direction he had at all, or if any discourse passed betwixt him and them, I was not the party to whom he was allowed to communicate the same, as will appear by their depositions: The truth of all these things is further inforced by a number of *presumptions:* And first, that he

[1] Correspondence of the Scotch Commissioners with the Committee of Estates: *MS., Advocates' Library.*

was my cousin and domestic! As both are true, so is it also true, that 'It is a poor kin wherein are not either * * * * * or knave:' Neither am I the first man of many who have nourished serpents in their own bosoms: And I think my interest of blood, and personal kindness to himself, should rather be an argument to prove his ingratitude, than anyways to infer anything against me."

And then he casts further light upon the real nature of these transactions, by this character, no doubt a true one, of his cousin and domestic, Walter Stewart:—

"But all this great structure is built upon so sandy a foundation as the characters, tablets, and depositions, made up by him, who has ever been known for *a fool*, or at least *a timid half-witted body;* and so, if chosen by the Lord Montrose, and others, for negotiating such deep plots as are alleged in my summons, they have been wonderfully mistaken in their choice. Neither can I be persuaded that, if they had been about any such plot or plots, men of their judgment, and understanding, could have been so far mistaken as to have made use of such a weak and foolish instrument for negotiating therein."[1]

This rebuke was not altogether unmerited by Montrose and his friends. They had totally mistaken the character of Walter Stewart. He was suggested to them by Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, as a convenient courier, being about to proceed to Court on some affairs of his own. Thus very accidentally was he introduced to those family supper-parties, meeting "after Yule," one while in Montrose's lodgings in the Canongate, and another in Lord Napier's house of Merchiston. In that venerable castle there is an apartment still in high preservation, decorated with quaint emblems of the times, and displaying the crown and cypher of King Charles in a variety of positions. Here we may imagine this family circle of conspirators enjoying their new-year's *symposia* of politics and plotty. The composition of the party excludes all idea of excess. But doubtless the peaked beards were dipping into lordly and well-spiced flagons; and as our hero had been at school only twelve years before, it is to be

[1] *Original* Replies of the Earl of Traquair to the libel against him in 1641; among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library. Only a fragment remains; but it is very eloquent, and perfectly conclusive.

hoped that he had not lost all relish for the wassail-cup, which, in those golden days, used to greet him in such hospitable halls as Balcarres. But the very honesty of their motives, their singleness of purpose—the idea of any sinister plotting never having entered their minds—had rendered them less wary in their proceedings than boys at a barring-out. Much was said of men and measures, that was never intended to enter the pack of their political bagman. Again the "band that was brunt," was tabled by Montrose; and his Christmas carol on that subject would not be complimentary to the peers who had deserted him, including the second in command of the covenanting army, Lord Amond, now fraternizing with Argyle. Then that Nestor of the Bedchamber, and ancient privy-counsellor, Lord Napier, who had been near the Throne in two reigns, was lamenting in tears of claret, "the King's authority much shaken by the late troubles;" a sentiment enforced by the Senator of the College of Justice at his side, the Laird of Blackhall and Ardgowan, complaining of "Laws silenced, justice and the course of judicatories obstructed;" while the wealthy Laird of "the lofty brow of ancient Keir," perhaps the only proprietor in Scotland who saved his great estates throughout the Troubles without a stain upon his loyalty, was descanting upon "noblemen and gentlemen put to excessive charges, and distracted from their private affairs;" and deploring the check to the progress of a love for the fine arts, and a care for education in Scotland. Walter Stewart, *tête monté* with his entertainment, and the confidence reposed in him by such a family party, took it all in, as "Instructions," which he was to model into shape, for a Court intrigue, and the ear of the King!

Antiquaries are aware of, and some so fortunate as to possess, a rare pamphlet, consisting of a few leaves, printed in London in 1641, and entitled, "Certain Instructions given by the Lord Montrose, the Lord Napier, Lairds of Keir and Blackhall; with a true report of the Committee for this new treason, that they had a threefold design." But antiquaries do not know the meaning or history of this strange brochure, compounded of a gibberish of ticks, letters, and names of beasts, accompanied with a scarcely more intelligible key, or interpretation, which

seemed to involve Traquair, and the King himself, in some mysterious plot against the liberties of the country.

Rumours of plots, not intended to be intelligible, as a means of keeping the public mind in a constant state of inflammation against those whom faction desired to crush, was one of the most successful arts of the covenanting movement. Our best histories, ill-informed on the subject, and totally ignorant of the secret evidence we now produce, are still haunted by the murky calumnies that arose out of the system. It was nuts to the fly-by-night committee who rifled the pockets, trunk, and saddle of the unlucky Walter Stewart, to find a letter from the King to Montrose in such very bad company as various scraps of paper, all scribbled over, in his own handwriting, with puerile and vulgar conceits, by way of covert terms, as if state secrets in masquerade. When as yet no more of the Scottish nation were aware of this awful discovery, than Lord Balmerino, Sir Thomas Hope the younger, and one Edward Edgar—a burgh cypher always added to give numerical value to the other two digitals,—accompanied by Adam Hepburn of Humbie, as clerk, —it suited these worthies at once to give out their judgment that this was an horrible plot against the country, in disguise. "A. B." mentions in his letter to Warriston, that the result of Walter Stewart's examination on the night of the 4th of June had been sent up to the Commissioners for the treaty, "by Humbie." It was the first *uncombed* declaration extorted from their trembling prisoner; and Sir Thomas states it to be so. Yet it came to be printed, in the form noticed, with all its imperfections on its head, when the condition of the faction in Scotland seemed to require an agitation of the kind to be got up in London; and it was printed from the very transcript sent up by Humbie between the 5th and the 7th of June 1641.[1]

But Walter Stewart was many times examined, before his evidence settled down into the shape which entered all the fictitious criminal indictments against Traquair, Montrose, Napier, Stirling of Keir, and Stewart of Blackhall. It was

[1] Among the MSS. of the Advocates' Library, I find all the original depositions, or the most of them, in the handwriting of Humbie; including what he had sent to London, from which obviously the contemporary pamphlet had been printed there.

compelled, concocted, and doctored in the most shameless manner, by those who usurped the keeping of Scotland's conscience. He was first examined on the night of the 4th, and morning of the 5th of June. Montrose and his friends were seized and confined in the castle of Edinburgh on the 11th. But it was not until the 18th, that Walter Stewart's evidence was finally arranged. Of that date, an *amended* edition "being drawn off the former depositions, was appointed to be shewn to the deponer, he having liberty to collate the same, and advise thereupon; which was done accordingly, and the deponer appearing in presence of the Committee, was solemnly sworn thereupon, who affirmed the same to be true as he would answer to God." Yet the "Instructions," to which he thus finally deponed, as having been taken down by himself to the dictation of Montrose, in presence of the others, were in a form so absurd as to render the assertion perfectly ludicrous, even without the overwhelming contradiction that evidence received.

As Sir Thomas Hope himself reports to Warriston, the letters A, B, C, frequently occurring in these missives, were at first declared by their prisoner to mean, all those who had signed the Cumbernauld bond. This was not a convenient handle against Montrose, other eighteen noblemen of the highest mark in Scotland being thus implicated. Accordingly, on the 9th of June, two days after "A. B.'s" report, the Inquisitors extracted from Walter Stewart that these letters meant Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall. On the 5th of June he had said, of these mystical instructions drawn out by himself, that he "did *shew them* to the Earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, at their *next meeting*:" On the 9th, he declared that they were "for the most part *dictated by the Earl of Montrose*, and written by the deponer, *in presence of* the Lord Napier, Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, in a covert way of letters for names," &c. On the 5th, as "A. B." divulges, their prisoner had said that by the term *serpent* was meant *Canterbury*. Abuse of Laud was safe enough. But the agitated culprit had forgotten that a plot against Laud was not manageable as a charge against Montrose. So on the 9th, he amended it thus:—"Being interrogated what the deponer means by the word *serpent*, in his

paper? Declares, it is the *Marquis of Hamilton;* and that *the meaning* of these words came from the said *four persons*, who thought that the Marquis of Hamilton, and Earl of Argyle, might have strange intentions." There was still an hitch: A, B, C, ought to have been followed by D; there being *four* distinguished plotters to whom he referred. The imperfection, however, was winked at, and the paper lord left without a letter.[1]

But what was made of these Layard-like missives at Court? The Colonel was at no loss. He declared, and eventually made oath, that he took them direct to Traquair, and translated them for his use into an intelligible form of "heads of Instructions;" and that these were "drawn up by the deponer in the substance thereof, and *mended* and *altered* in the form and *grammar*, by the Earl of Traquair, with his own hand, in some parts, and in other parts at his direction." These instructions, thus horribly cobbled, he further "declares that the Earl of Traquair

[1] A broad light is cast upon these hole-and-corner inquisitions of the Argyle government of Scotland, by a paper of *Queries*, given in by Montrose and his friends, which they demanded should be put to Walter Stewart, *confronted with them.* The rejection of the demand condemns the Government; and we may take for truth the facts implied in these seven very circumstantial *Queries* for Montrose:—

"1. To interrogate him whether or not he was *boasted*, *threatened*, and *menaced* to depone? 2. If there was not much *favour*, and *courtesy*, and *freedom*, promised him the time of his deponing,—affirming neither his life nor fortune should be in hazard? 3. Whether or not, after deponing, being commanded to swear, and subscribe the same, he craved twenty-four hours to advisement before oath, and *was refused*, but only to hear them read? 4. Whether or not Sir Adam Hepburn,* their clerk, having read the deposition, the said Walter desired the same should be changed and altered in some points, and that the clerk *refused the same*, without the Committee's (of Estates) advice? 5. Whether or not he was commanded by the Committee to *subscribe and swear them as they were*, without giving way to change them at all? 6. That he be urged to declare where he wrote those several papers, *which falsely are called ours;* as that paper called 'the *Tablet;*' and the other wherein are his *Chyrogliphics*, of '*Elephant*,' and '*Dromedary*,' and the like; and whether we knew anything of the writing, or were accessory thereto? 7. That he declare if ever we, in our discourses to him, did *so much as smell*—beside seem to intend—anything whatsoever touching ourselves, for employment, advancement, commodity, or any such like advantages; but only the *King's presence here*, for the public good, by an happy peace, by settling the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom?"—*Original*, Montrose Charter-room.

* *Humble*, whom the King was compelled to knight along with Warriston, when he came to Scotland in 1641.

carried to the King"—to Charles the First—" and got particular answers to them" ![1]

Traquair was one of the most accomplished men of his day, though too familiar with petty faction. Clarendon considered that " he was a man of great parts, without doubt not inferior to any of that nation in wisdom and dexterity." It was, however, mainly by his own faulty conduct throughout the Troubles, that, instead of losing his head like a loyalist, he was last seen as a beggar in Edinburgh, holding a tattered hat for halfpence. But in the hey-day of his checquered career of intrigue and faction, he was at least *splendide mendax*. He never, indeed, did Charles the First a good turn. Yet he sometimes persuaded him, and always persuaded himself, that he was his wisest counsellor. In his bearing he was highly aristocratic, and a finished gentleman withal, though hasty and hot in his temper, full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard. Archibald Johnston, in his secret correspondence from London, bitterly accuses of interfering with their tyrannical projects " my Lord Traquair, who both said once to me, and, as my Lord Rothes knows from others, he said it also to the King, that before he *perished*, he should *mix Heaven and Earth and Hell together*." How he had been goaded to use any such expressions we can now perfectly understand, since finding in the Lord Advocate's diary, that Rothes about this time declared no concessions by the King would satisfy that party, until the very memory of Traquair was erased from the face of the earth. As for Warriston, he was a savage, who knew not how to repeat a gentleman's words as they had been uttered. The object of his virulent persecution was a scholar; and when provoked beyond all endurance by the demagogue, he had betaken himself to the impassioned eloquence of the wife of Jupiter,—

" Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo."[2]

Now, we venture to say, that sooner than have condescended to assist the meaning, and rectify the grammar, of Walter

[1] *Original* MS. No such document was produced at the time, or ever discovered since.

[2] Traquair's defence, *Original* MS., Advocates' Library.

Stewart's miserable trash, and then have taken it in person to Charles the First, John first Earl of Traquair would have disposed of this his cousin and domestic,—whom he never honoured with a higher title than "the Captain,"—by pitching him out of the window.

And red was the wrath of this Ex-High Treasurer for Scotland, when he found the preposterous lie actually libelled against himself, in the voluminous dittay framed to keep him out of his office. For Walter Stewart had also the audacity to depone, that so completely did his chief coincide with the farcical humour of this pretended diplomacy, as to reply to the Plotters in kind; by causing the ungrammatical captain to write down, "three ticks" for Montrose, Napier, and Keir,—still leaving the Lord of Session unticketted: "The town of Wigtown," for the Earl of that name: "Genero," specially for Montrose: "The Dromedary," for Argyle: "The Elephant," for Hamilton: "Signior Puritano," for Seaforth: "M'Duff," for Athole: "Dick," for Sir Richard Graham: "Redshanks," for Clanranald: "The Plantations," for the Commissioners at the treaty: "The School," for the Court: "L.," for the King: And then followed:—"To let the *three ticks* know how well L takes their care; and in the *discreetest* way to inform yourself of their desires; and, particularly, *if reik aims upwards:*" Which most ingenious turn Walter Stewart at first translated, "if business goes aright;" but afterwards substituted this other explanation, "if Keir seeks preferment"!

"*Upon my honour and conscience*, he had never any such warrant nor commission from me,"—replies the indignant Traquair, to this and all the rest of his cousin's trash.

Argyle was artful and dexterous as a Thug. Give him a *safe* and convenient position, and he could noose a rhinoceros. Montrose was in Edinburgh. Unfortunately for him, the two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, which he commanded in Leslie's army, were at Newcastle. A Committee of Estates' warrant, with sufficient signatures attached to set in motion a few military machines with lethal weapons in their hands, was as easily procured by the King of the Kirk, as the paper on

which it was written. Without previous warning, or preliminary examinations, four members of the Committee of Estates, two of them being peers of the realm, one of them a privy-counsellor, another a senator of the College of Justice, and all of them men of the highest character and credit in the kingdom,—namely, the Earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall,—were ignominiously seized, and separately confined in the castle of Edinburgh, with less difficulty than four of the swell mob could now-a-days be marched to the police office.

And now occurred a tragedy, very nearly partaking the character of an actual murder, and certainly possessing its moral turpitude. There was no reason but a private and an unjust one, for putting to death the consistorial Judge of Dunkeld, John Stewart, younger of Ladywell. At Balloch Castle, as already narrated, he had heard treason,—from the lips of Argyle,—in the songs and drunken hallelujahs of his armed caterans,—in the threats of his immediate subordinates; and the whole demeanour of the chief of the Campbells, under the supreme commission which he devised and procured for himself, had betrayed his design of reigning in place of Charles Stewart, in Scotland. Moreover, the Commissary of Dunkeld had been distinctly told, that the life of the nobleman now at the head of his own clan, the Stewarts of Athole, this same unscrupulous chief "had in his pocket." That Montrose was in possession of more unpleasant truths on the subject than ever transpired, is scarcely to be doubted. He was not the man to have declared, repeatedly, and publicly, his own intention to bring the Dictator's dangerous projects to light, at the next meeting of Assembly and Parliament, upon such doubtful grounds for a parliamentary impeachment as anything we can now reveal imports. He had spent several days at Scone with John Stewart, who no doubt was his principal informer with regard to some pregnant circumstances. But the Earl of Athole, Stewart of Grandtully, Ogilvy of Inchmartin, and many others, were witnesses as to what passed at the ford of Lyon and Balloch Castle. The three above named were also of the subsequent conservative party at Lord Stormont's; and although our hero

did not wish to compromise any of them, and had meanwhile contented himself with producing the Commissary of Dunkeld, they must all eventually have come into the field, had he been suffered to bring matters before Parliament, in presence of the Sovereign.

But what had the poor Commissary actually set down in writing for Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, and how far had he so committed himself? It amounted to this, that Argyle had publicly discoursed of deposing kings, and of the grounds upon which that might lawfully be done. This was all the writing on the subject given to Walter Stewart, as the information of his unfortunate clansman, to be communicated at Court. It was a comparatively harmless, but no doubt very meagre and subdued record of the facts. His other version was that which he emitted before the Committee of Estates in May 1641, when produced by Montrose. Then it was taken down from him, that Argyle had directly applied his homily (and most likely he had) to the reigning Monarch; and further, that he had added the explicit declaration, that they thought to have done it at the last session of Parliament in 1640, and meant to do it when Parliament sat again. But all that was discovered among the papers of the messenger of Montrose, was the written statement, certified by Stewart of Grandtully, which we have elsewhere laid before the reader.[1] There must have been more at the back of all this. Even when in jeopardy of his life, our hero reiterated what had been his intentions with regard to Argyle. He was accused, in the voluminous libel against him, of having, by his own admission, listened to high treason, and not immediately become a public informer himself. He replied: "What I did hear from the said Mr John Stewart I had of himself only: which I did conceive too mean a ground to have let them flow from me to the ears of the public;[2] both in respect of the *reverence and gravity* of those judicatories; the inferior estate of the person I had them from; the condition of the party taxed; and likewise my own quality: But if, after prying, I

[1] See before, p. 260.

[2] By "the Public," Montrose here means the tribunals of the Committee of Estates; which, however, were very much *germanised*, as regards the *publicity* of those tribunals. There is a touch of sarcasm in Montrose's reply.

had rencountered any real grounds and evidences to build upon, I would straightway have acquainted the public therewith; which first *imprisonment*, then *the cutting off the party informer*, did disappoint."[1]

Argyle either had a good defence against all this, or he had not. Would an honest, injured man, and possessing his power in Church and State, have been in any danger, or at any disadvantage, with Committee, Assembly, or Parliament, though Montrose had been left at large, and John Stewart in life?

No sooner was the latter within the four walls of a dungeon, than mind and body seem to have given way. It was on the last day of May 1641, that Montrose, suddenly driven into a corner, threw down the Commissary Judge in the middle of the Committee of Estates, where he exploded like a bomb, under the very nose of Argyle. "A terrible calumnious relation" against that potentate, says "A. B." But after sending him to prison, it seems, "Mr John Stewart has confessed his knavery in the general, but has not yet cleared the particulars."[2] The fly-by-night committee, of the Committee, had been with him in his dungeon, and not in vain. On the 5th of June, this wretched man wrote a letter to Argyle, imploring the Earl to give him a private audience, before bringing him again in presence of the Committee,—"promising to conceal nothing that I know to your Lordship's prejudice and harm, or *of the Public's:* Considering your Lordship's *generous dispositions*, I will hope for no less than that ye will requite evil with good; which will contribute more for your Lordship's honor and credit than my wreck will do for your Lordship's wealth, or my shame for your praise." He might as well have knelt to a boa-constrictor. This private letter was read in presence of the Committee. "After reading whereof, the Earl of Argyle refused to speak with him apart or alone; but was content the Committee should appoint some to be present, before whom he was content to hear Mr John: The Committee appointed the Lord Balmerino, Sir Thomas Hope, and Edward Edgar, to be present *with the Earl of Argyle*, to speak with Mr John."[3]

[1] *Original* MS., Montrose Charter-room.

[2] See before, p. 308.

[3] *Original* MS., Advocate's Library. This was the usual working clique.

Is it to be wondered at, that a pusillanimous heart broke down under such a pressure? This sub-committee, accompanied also by "Old Durie,"[1] and probably some others of the elect, sought their victim's cell at night, on the 6th of June. The interview was not immediately successful. Next day, however, that on the night of which "A. B." writes in such glee to Warriston, John Stewart's recantation, "in the general," was produced before the Committee. He commences by craving their Lordships' pardon, "specially those who were yesternight here, in that I could not give them greater satisfaction at that present, in respect of the *infirmity and weakness of my body and spirit;* as likewise being *dashed* with such a number." He then proceeds to confess, what? That Argyle had only discoursed of deposing kings *in general!* That he had only preached a political and constitutional sermon; whereas he, Stewart, had accused him of pointing directly a treasonable design against King Charles! But the terms of this so-called recantation were fearfully abject. Terror had done its work. Considering his station, every manly mind must revolt at the nauseous disgorging of that pluckless stomach. Thus, when (as with dying breath he declared) bearing false witness against himself, did he lay his incense upon the altar of the Covenant: "I hope it to be for God's glory, and the wonder of all this nation, to stand for the defence of *His* cause, wherein he hath such ane provident hand." It would not do. No lightning appeared on the left. In vain he reviled himself as a malicious calumniator of Argyle. In vain he "craves his Lordship's mercy, and pleads only now *guilty*,—beseeching his Lordship to have compassion upon my wretched estate, being only desirous to have pleasured the receiver thereby, imagining never to have been brought to answer for them thereafter, as now I am to my great grief and late repentance." In vain he came from "generals" to all "the particulars" he could think of: "As for those speeches," he says, "alleged by me to have been spoken by Argyle at the ford of Lyon, I confess that—now having thought better of them—his speech was general, *of all kings;* howsoever, by my foresaid prejudicate opinion of his Lordship's actions, I applied them to

[1] Sir Alexander Gibson of Dury, the elder, of whom more anon.

the present; wrested them to my own meaning, and vented them after that kind." Then he beseeches their Lordships, that if he is to be further interrogated, they will permit him to answer in writing, "as not being able, in respect of my weakness, either to stand or gang (walk), as the bearer can witness."[1]—"Farther," concludes the miserable man, "if either the Laird of Balbirnie, or Alexander Brodie of Lathem, be in the town, I desire that they may have warrant to come to me, whereby I may impart to them some of my worldly affairs; and if none of them be here, that some other *friends* may be admitted."

Our only historian of the period, Malcolm Laing, upon little or no knowledge of these events, and a glance so imperfect and partial at these manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, as scarcely to be pardoned in a critical historian who professes to have searched them, would fain exonerate Argyle. He says that John Stewart's "confession was *strictly true.*" It is little to the purpose though it were. The distinction between the King in particular, and kings in general, might tell in a legal and technical defence of Argyle, but not in the historical or moral. It was the sum and substance of the dying man's recantation. If that indeed were "strictly true," Argyle's own defence was absolutely false. For he brought various retainers to depone that they *had not heard*, and he himself declared, upon "his oath unrequired," that not one word had been said by him on the subject of kings, either *in general*, or *in particular:* "Whereat," says Guthrie, "many wondered."

Unconditional and abject as was the plea of guilty put in by John Stewart, there was another vital point in which it failed to satisfy "King Campbell." His so called confession, in any view of it, completely exonerated Montrose. Not by that nobleman alone, had Stewart, as he himself declares, been commissioned "to try what bonds were pressed, either by the Earl of Argyle himself, or his friends, or subscribed to him in Athole,

[1] This suggests the question, had torture been employed by the nocturnal committee? Had Balmerino "the bootikins" at his back, or old Durie "the thummikins" in his pocket? Guthrie says, rather significantly, "being both profound men, they knew well what arguments to use."—See before, p. 307. It will be remembered also, that Argyle's *Exoneration*, for his proceedings in the north, gave him indemnity for having employed *torture*, under whatever circumstances, or to whatever extent.—See before, p. 253.

or elsewhere; what presumptions there might be had that he was the acquirer of his late commission himself, and how he carried himself therein;[1] and what presumptions might be had that he did aspire for supremacy above his equals:" He had been so "desired by the Earls of Montrose and *Athole*, at Scone,—with that *caveat* given me *by Montrose*, that I should rather keep me within bounds than exceed." And then he adds, referring to the declaration he signed before the Committee at his first production by Montrose,—"Yet, notwithstanding, by that odious paper, I abused his Lordship's and *Athole's* trust in me, wronged the Earl of Argyle, and discredited myself," &c.[2]

This recantation of the doomed and self-condemned Commissary, was finally sworn to and subscribed by him on the 10th of June 1641. On the following day, as we have seen, namely, on the 11th of June, Montrose and his friends, were taken unawares, and cast into prison, along with Walter and John Stewart. The potentate then proceeded with great deliberation to select his first victim. There was no difficulty as to the trial of the one who had so abjectly condemned himself. His so-called confession, was taken as a *plea of guilty* of high treason against Argyle! At the fiat of that merciless man, whose obliquity of vision had "cast the glamour" over poor degraded Scotland, the first ominous sound of the axe of the Kirk and Covenant startled the length and breadth of the land, as, upon Wednesday the 28th of July 1641, it fell on the neck of the howling, fainting, laird of Ladywell.[3]

[1] Referring to Argyle's commission of fire and sword against Athole. See before, p. 250.

[2] John Stewart's petition and confession, presented to the Committee of Estates, 7th and 10th June 1641: *Original* MS. Advocate's Library. See all the original documents printed in the author's "Montrose and the Covenanters," vol. i. c. xvi.; and "Memorials of Montrose," vol. i. pp. 296–301.

[3] Even the covenanting Baillie was staggered and shocked by the sudden and murderous result; and, in attempting to justify it, by a very disingenuous statement, had as usual to wrestle with his somewhat troublesome conscience. See his Letters and Journals, vol. i. p. 381.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TREATMENT OF MONTROSE AND HIS FRIENDS BY THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES—MONTROSE PRONOUNCED DISOBEDIENT AND CONTUMACIOUS—EXAMINATION OF LORD NAPIER BY THE COMMITTEE—HIS OWN ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPT TO SEPARATE HIM FROM MONTROSE—THE REPOSITORIES OF MONTROSE RIFLED FOR MATERIALS AGAINST HIM—PARLIAMENT MEETS PREPARATORY TO THE ADVENT OF THE KING—MONTROSE CALLED BEFORE THE HOUSE—HIS ADDRESS TO THE PARLIAMENT—THE KING ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND TO HOLD THE PARLIAMENT—LORD NAPIER SUMMONED BEFORE THE HOUSE—HIS REMONSTRANCE IN PRESENCE OF THE KING—RESULT OF THE KING'S VISIT, AND CONCLUSION OF THE PROCESS AGAINST THE PLOTTERS.

THERE being no case against "the Plotters" that could bear the light of day, either upon the doctored depositions of Walter Stewart, or the extorted confessions of John Stewart, and the noblemen and gentlemen accused having declared in terms that distinctly separated the little truth in Walter's evidence from his falsehoods, and mystical puerilities, the next endeavour of the Argyle government was to involve the principal object of their pursuit in a maze of examinations, which it was hoped might afford something like contradictions to found upon. Accordingly, the whole party were subjected to vexatious interrogatories, constantly repeated, contrary to the most obvious principles of justice, for the purpose of enabling their pursuers to assert that they had criminated themselves, or contradicted each other. A glance at the private minutes of the Inquisitors, which have been partially preserved, although none but the elect were allowed to see them at the time, suffices to prove that all this was a factious struggle to make a case where none existed.

On the 22d of June, the eleventh day of his imprisonment, Montrose was ordered to be brought in a coach from the castle,

to be examined by the Committee of Estates; his college friend, the Earl of Sutherland, being armed with their warrant to that effect.[1] That nobleman brought back a written answer from Montrose, couched in very dignified terms, respectfully declining to appear. He assigned for reason, that as a few of their number had examined him in the castle the day before, and as the charge seemed to be that of conspiring against the public weal, "I did conceive," he said, "in my humble opinion with all respect, the more *public* my trial were, the further should it tend to the satisfaction and contentment thereof; that, as *the scandal* was notorious and national, so likewise should *the expiation* be, one way or another." The day after this firm and temperate declinature, the Committee ordain the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh, to charge the Constable of the castle, to render unto those authorities the Earl of Montrose, whom they were forthwith to bring down under a sure guard. He was conducted accordingly, surrounded by four hundred men. But the chief of the Grahams was made of other stuff than the laird of Ladywell. He refused to answer a single interrogatory; constantly referring to his letter of the previous day. The Committee had nothing for it, but to pronounce him "disobedient and contumacious." Then, says the graphic Spalding, "finding *no contentment*, they sent him back again to the castle of Edinburgh, there to remain; but Stephen Boyd, Captain thereof, was discharged from being Captain, and another Captain put in his place, because he suffered Montrose to have conference with the rest. Always they want that comfort now, and are now strictly kept, and none suffered to go in nor out, but by permission, to speak with any of them."[2]

Lord Napier pursued a different tactic, when worried by this ill-conditioned committee, packed and prompted as it was by Argyle. He did not positively decline to answer; but the silly accusations being all false, he was enabled for the most part to give a flat and peremptory negative to their questions, without

[1] See before, p. 43.

[2] The new Constable appointed was Colonel Lindsay of Beltane, who, happening to fall sick in the following month, and being allowed to name a temporary substitute, "he named," says Baillie, "Stephen Boyd, his predecessor, whom the Committee, for his *too great respect* for his prisoners, had shifted of that charge."

engaging in discussion. The laird of Keir, a very high spirited man, who had also been re-examined, refused to answer a single question, with the same determination, and somewhat more heat, than Montrose. Lord Napier, the Mentor of the party, recommended what he called "negative answers, without discourse." This, he adds, "avoided *contumacy;* and I could wish my Lord Montrose and Keir did the like, for once only, and never answer more, *negativè* nor *affirmativè:* For by their not answering, they think their intention is to put off till a Parliament, though they do not appeal: But if they press us to any more answering, it is but to ensnare and entangle us in contradictions, and it is not fit we do it."[1]

This excellent and single-hearted nobleman, as well as Keir and Blackhall, was *de trop* in the virulent pursuit now instituted against Montrose and Traquair. He had been caught in a net not spread for him; and the Apostles of our liberties were most desirous to shake off the responsibility of publicly impeaching a statesman of unobtrusive habits, and long-tried worth, against whom it was scarcely possible to engender the vague calumnies and popular excitement that were to come in place of evidence against such as, *per fas aut nefas*, they desired to destroy. But the scene cannot be described in any other words so good and graphic as his own, which fortunately have been preserved to bear witness to the meanness of his present persecutors.

"23d June 1641. I was sent for out of the castle by the Committee; and when I came there, Craighall,[2] being Preses, and looking upon a paper he had in his hand, said to me, he had some interrogatories to pose me on. To which I answered, that he need not interrogate me; for, as I told the Lord Balmerino, and the rest that were with him the day before in the castle, I had deponed all I knew, freely and ingenuously; and therefore I desired him to compare them with his interrogatories; and if any of them was answered by my depositions, it was well; and if any of them was not satisfied there, I could

[1] *Original* MS., in the handwriting of Archibald first Lord Napier.—*Napier Charter-Chest.*

[2] Sir John Hope of Craighall, the Lord Advocate's eldest son.

not do it, for I had deponed all I knew. And that not pleasing him, I asked him, if he would have me depone that I knew not? But he would needs read his interrogatories; and still I urged to read my depositions for answer. At last he says, that Keir's depositions and mine did not agree; in so far as I said I had not *seen* the instructions, but only heard Keir *tell them* to me. To which I answered, 'That is no material difference, since he made me know them by relation: I remember not that circumstance of *showing* them; but I rather trust his memory than my own, who, apparently trusting his relation, and taking a short view, might forget that circumstance.' Then they were given me to read, with the King's answers upon them. 'These,' said I, 'are your own desires, and herein the public receives no prejudice.'[1] But Humbie did read them; and because they did run upon generalities, as laws and former laws, without making exceptions of the laws of the last parliament, he would insinuate that we cared not for these. To which I answered, 'That is an ill commentary; we were not to enter particular conditions with the King, but did touch the generals, leaving particulars to those who were employed about the treaty.' Then I was desired to look upon Walter Stewart's notes in a long small piece of paper, and was demanded if I had seen them?

[1] Sir George Stirling, like all the rest, had deponed in terms directly contradicting Walter Stewart's evidence, which unquestionably was false. Being questioned as to the *mystical* instructions, which that worthy was eventually brought to swear Montrose himself had dictated to him, *in presence of* the other three, he answered, emphatically, that "he neither saw paper nor ink; neither did they write any"; nor did any write at their direction." And when the paper itself was shewn to him, "he denies ever he did see that paper before, or that he knows any thing of the particulars thereof." But he deponed, that Walter Stewart, upon one occasion of his returning from Court, happening to meet Keir at Newcastle, shewed him a paper bearing to be certain propositions to the King, relative to public affairs, and the King's answers, in very general and unexceptionable terms. Of this, Keir took a copy, and shewed it to Lord Napier. These general propositions, he understood, had been submitted to the King by the Duke of Lennox. It is to this that Lord Napier refers in the above statement. They all utterly repudiated, and with scorn, Walter Stewart's own notes, and ridiculous hieroglyphics, which, however, were made the basis of a most virulent indictment against them all. They were men of high spirit, and unblemished honour; while Walter Stewart, even by admission of the Inquisitors themselves (witness Sir Thomas Hope's secret letter to Warriston), was a pitiful poltroon, contradicting himself at every turn, and not corroborated by a single witness or circumstance.

I said, no. Then they were read, and I was posed what was meant by, &c., and &c.,[1] and the '*Elephant*,' and '*Dromedary*,' and the '*Serpent in the bosom?*' I said I knew nothing of these hieroglyphics, that they were Walter's own notes. But then I was demanded if I knew the purpose was expressed under these notes? I said I knew not what they meant. They told me then that the '*Elephant*' was my Lord Hamilton, who was the '*Serpent in the bosom*,' and that he had strange ambitious designs. I answered, that there was never any such purpose among us: For I was resolved to answer to all that was demanded and not in my depositions, with a No,—as indeed I knew not what they meant. Then I was asked if we three did not take an oath of secrecy before we went to the castle? I answered, we never took one oath or other. Then they read, in the paper, of one '*Signior Puritano*.' I demanded who that was? They told me it was my Lord Seaforth: Whereupon I fell a laughing, and said he was slandered; and they fell in a great laughter. Then they posed me concerning Wigton. I answered that I had never seen Wigton since, nor knew nothing of it. Then I was asked concerning the keeping up of the offices of Estate. I referred them to my deposition upon that point, which was read; and then I said, we all did think the King would not be so simple as to dispose of them till he came hither; and when he came I did think it would be his last act.[2] Then a paper, which came from Traquair, was shown me, which I said I knew not, and so said they too. So whatever they demanded of me, which was not in my depositions, I resolved to answer with a negative. Only in one thing they posed me on, concerning the dissolving the army, the answer was so fair as I resolved to satisfy them; and said, 'Truly, my Lord, your question has brought something to my mind which I omitted in my depositions: I remember Walter Stewart said that the King could not with honour come home, the army being lying in his way; to which it was answered, that we had our commissioners at London; if the treaty did not take effect, the King would not come home at all; and if it took effect, then the army would

[1] Instead of copying, in this MS., all the mystical terms of Walter Stewart's notes, Lord Napier indicates them by "&c."

[2] This was precisely in terms of Montrose's letter of advice to the King.

either dissolve, or they would be *his* army, and lay down their arms at his feet; so that would be no impediment.'

"Then I was removed, and a long consultation was had concerning me. At length I was called in, and there, in great pomp of words, and with large commendations of me in the course of my life, this sentence was pronounced, that the Committee had ordained me to have *free liberty*, and to repair to my own house to do my lawful business, and an act read whereby I was obliged to answer them when they should call for me. To which I replied, that I knew that sentence proceeded from their favour to me; but truly in very deed it was no favour, but the doubling of a disgrace, first to send me to the castle as a traitor to God and my country in the view of all the people, and then, by way of favour, to let me go; which, if I did accept, was a certain though a tacit confession of guiltiness. It was answered, that it was not only favour, but out of consideration that I was *less guilty than the rest*. To which I said that I knew I was as guilty as any of the rest; *and they knew nothing which they did not impart to me, and had my approbation*. At which words they cried all out that I was much deceived. Then I was earnestly desired not to contemn the Committee's sentence, but accept of it. To which I said, that the Committee might command me to hazard my life and means to do them service; but this was my honour, which I esteemed dearer than either of the other two. For if my releasement were not got by means of my innocency, *after trial*, and not by favour, I could not avoid imputation; all the world would think that I had taken a way by (separate from) Montrose and Keir, and deponed something to their prejudice, which procured this special favour to myself; and therefore entreated them not to put a double indignity upon me, whom they esteemed less guilty, when, as yet, they had put but a single upon them. Whereupon I was removed, and there followed me my Lord Yester, Old Durie, and Archibald Campbell, who, for *two hours* I think, plied me with arguments to accept and obey the Committee's pleasure. Not being able to persuade me, the Committee gave warrant to receive me in again to the castle, to be advised for a night. So I retired; and two or three of them followed me to the door, and *by the cloak stayed me there*, but all in vain."[1]

[1] *Original* MS. in Lord Napier's hand-writing.—*Napier Charter-chest.*

The result of this honourable and spirited determination was, that charges ridiculous in their own nature, known to be false, and of which the Committee of Estates had thus, in private, pronounced him innocent, were libelled against Lord Napier in the most exaggerated form, and the most virulent terms; and he himself kept in close confinement to answer for high treason against the State! This peep behind the curtain of the Covenant is the more important, that no other such record, of the peculiar *modus operandi* of this extraordinary tribunal, is to be discovered. That the above should have been preserved, for more than two centuries, among these family papers, was scarcely to have been expected. Nor is it much to be wondered at that no official record of such proceedings is forthcoming. The minutes of these inquisitorial sederunts of the Argyle government, especially during the period in question, if ever accurately taken down upon such occasions, have been very partially preserved. And none were more conscious than clerk "Humbie," and his masters, that, "if they had writ their annals right," those inquisitorial records would have been more edifying to posterity than creditable to themselves. "The Committee of Estates" is an high sounding name. It belongs to the vocabulary of Constitutional History, as displayed to us by such grand marshals of its majestic march as a Hallam, a Brodie, or a Macaulay. But, truth to tell, a meaner or more mischievous court of injustice than the Committee of Estates in 1641, never disgraced a nation. Framed, as we have seen, in 1640, upon a pretended constitutional and broad basis,[1] this great council of the disorganised nation, was immediately reduced to what Montrose so justly described as the "particular and indirect practising of a few." Even before the end of the year 1640, he and others observed and protested against this vice of a mock constitution, which, it must be admitted, his own youthful energies had unwittingly done so much to establish. "Divers of the nobility," says Guthrie, "such as Montrose, Erskine, Drummond, and others, quarrelled (complained) that they were neglected in the matter of consultation, and that business was contrived and carried on by a few." Argyle, and his indefatigable prime minister Johnston of Warriston, directing and

[1] See before, p. 237.

controlling such as the Earl of Loudon (next in power of the clan Campbell), and his uncle Archibald Campbell, Burleigh, Balmerino, Cassilis, Sir John Hope of Craighall, and Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse—the Lord Advocate's two eldest sons, who controlled that great official—Lindsay of the Byres, thirsting to usurp the Earldom of Crawford, the two Gibsons of Durie, father and son, Hepburn of Humbie, clerk of the Parliament and its committees, and a few others of weaker capacities and more uncertain objects, composed the government of Scotland at this time, and ruled it with a rod of iron. From this vicious coterie, every member of the Committee of Estates who evinced an independent mind, and honest patriotic purpose, was most effectually excluded, by being instantly transferred to one or other of their disfranchising schedules, of Incendiaries, Plotters, Delinquents, and Malignants, up to their grand climax of "bloody Butchers," and "viperous brood of Satan." All who regarded their own immediate interests more than the public weal, became, for a time at least, subservient tools of the more able and unscrupulous leaders. Many well affected noblemen and barons, who could command little or no personal following, seemed to stand at gaze, bewildered and powerless, waiting for a crisis, or better times. Such, for instance, as the eighteen noblemen who had so recently joined our hero in the conservative bond. Of these, again, some were seduced or terrified into a temporary co-operation, which their consciences condemned, and their subsequent conduct completely contradicted. The Parliament of Scotland was in the same predicament. Whatever Argyle's packed committees decreed, that sanctioned. It was the Committee of Estates in another form, and under a different name. The General Assembly of the Kirk overruled all. And the "seditious preachers" of the Covenant pastured like locusts upon the consciences and common sense of the people.

The charter-chest and private repositories of our hero were not left undisturbed, like his noble friend's. The dire offence of corresponding with his Sovereign had never yet been brought to the tangible issue against him which his enemies desiderated. The letter found in Walter Stewart's saddle, which we have

been able to produce, was just what the King himself said of it, such as a good subject deserved from his Sovereign. Surely, they thought, something worse might be discovered? His lodging in the Canongate was ransacked in vain. Lord Sinclair, who lived to be greatly ashamed of the employment, was then commissioned to overhaul his castles and country houses in search of papers to criminate him. They broke open his cabinets, and "slighted" his stately homesteads. Lord Sinclair returned with a stain upon his own character, and no case against Montrose. The castles of Kincardine and Mugdock, and the place of Old Montrose, were each in their turn a prey to this discreditable raid. Lord Sinclair, says Guthrie, "found nothing therein belonging to public affairs; only, instead thereof, he found some letters from ladies to him, in his *younger years*, *flowered with Arcadian compliments;* which, being divulged, would possibly have met with a favourable construction, had it not been that the hatred carried to Montrose made them to be interpreted in the worst sense: The Lord Sinclair's employment having been only to search for papers of correspondence betwixt his Majesty and Montrose, in reference to public affairs, he was much blamed by men of honour and gallantry for publishing those letters; but the rigid sort had him in greater esteem for it."

It was "the rigid sort" alone who had sent him. No man of honour and gallantry dictated his instructions. Had the letters in question contained a sentence derogatory to his character, they would have been paraded to the world. Their contents never transpired; and Lord Sinclair could have published them only in the sense of having perused, disclosed, and discoursed of those "Arcadian compliments," which, in the golden college days through which we have traced the manly and stirring habits of his youth, had been addressed to him by some fair stars of the many country mansions where we find him spending his holidays, promoting mumming and morrice-dancing, and bestowing masks, gloves, and carkanets, on his sisters.[1]

One circumstance, affording no bad testimony in favour of his dispositions, is brought to light by the incident. The confidential servants of his youth, James Graham, "domestic servitor

[1] See before, p. 52.

to my Lord," he who wrote so pathetically of his young master's deficiency in shoes and boots, and good Mr John Lambye, "purse-maister to my Lord," we find attached to him still, in their respective vocations. They were both involved in the storm that now threatened his life. Honest Spalding, when indignantly recording an inquisitorial measure which seems to have excited general disgust, says,—"Lord Sinclair came to the place of Old Montrose, by direction of the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh, and there violently broke up the gates and doors thereof, entered the house, searched the whole coffers, chests, and trunks within the same, after they were all broken up, to see what missives or letters pertaining to the Earl of Montrose, or any of his friends, might be found; because his writs lay in this house: They took to Edinburgh with them also the Earl's secretary, *called Lamby*, to try what he knew: The like was done to another house of the said Earl's called Kincardine; and what was found, was had to the Committee at Edinburgh, the Earl himself lying warded in the castle of Edinburgh: It is said, they also demolished his stately house of Mugdock."

One document Lord Sinclair made prize of, upon which alone even these unscrupulous persecutors could pause seriously for a moment. To their horror and alarm, he raised the ghost of "the Band that was brunt!" Our hero had privately noted the history of that affair, the source of much vague calumny against himself, and had placed the manuscript in his own charter-chest. The precise terms of the original bond we have fortunately recovered; and we have seen that not a line of it justifies Baillie when characterising it as "damnable." We may well believe that the covenanting abuse heaped upon this last, Montrose's private record of its motive and object, had as little foundation in truth or justice. Any writings of his which bear a disreputable character are those of which the Covenanters would not suffer the contents to go abroad. But the character was affixed by themselves. The manuscript in question was brought before both Parliament and General Assembly, amid as much excitement as if a gunpowder-plot, or infernal machine had been discovered. Baillie describes it, to his correspondent Spang, as "a paper written by Montrose's hand,

after the burning of the Band, full of *vain humanities*, magnifying to the skies his own courses, and *debasing to hell* his opposites!" No transcript of the outrageous paper accompanies this opinion. Sir James Balfour, too, then bitter in his enmity against the champion of his royal master's rights, thus refers to it in those *Balfouriana* which he dignified with the name of Annals: "A *scurvy infamous libel*, found in the Earl of Montrose's cabinet, penned by himself *against the country*, in defence of the divisive Band, *and Banders*, was read publicly in the House: It was written by the hand of John *(James?)* Graham, his servant, and interlined with his own."[1] We have produced that of Montrose's writings which will suffice to prove him incapable of penning "a scurvy infamous libel." Neither did it suit our Lord Lyon to illustrate his anathema with the document itself. Such, however, was the usual covenanting mode of characterising whatever militated against the principles of the faction, and the progress of the movement, though it had been recorded with the pen of an angel. The discovery was seized with avidity, as an excuse for reviving a clamour against the conservative bond, and for vexing its noble author with new

[1] Sir James Balfour, who was very kindly treated by Charles I. (see before, p. 120), ought to have been ashamed to leave such dishonest abuse behind him. It is the more remarkable, that *before* noting the transactions of the year 1641, in which this abuse of Montrose's conservative opposition occurs, he adresses an advertisement "to the gentle reader," to excuse the *conservative* tone he will be constrained to adopt in the subsequent noting of "my Annals." He says that he commences a *new volume* with the occurrences of the year 1641, the 17th year of the reign of Charles I.; which, he adds, "will require a greater volume by itself; the face not only of affairs being quite altered, but the very *fundamentals of government*, both of Church and State, very much altered, if not *overturned* from what they were both in his father's time, and in his own till that year: Wherefore I have resolved to begin with that year in another volume; *because I must speak in another language*, and in other terms *now*, than I did formerly, before the reins of government were slacked, and the body did begin to call itself 'the Estates,' without any mention of him who was the head-politic of that body."—*See Balfour's Annals, end of* vol. ii. Was Montrose's *conservatism* not something *better* than this? And this from the man, who, *after* having noted the above in his closet, is pleased to tell his "gentle reader," that Montrose's note, of the motive and object of an unexceptionable conservative bond, signed by nineteen noblemen, that note being found among *his* private papers, was "a scurvy infamous libel," without quoting a single word of it to justify the abuse! *Credat Judæus.* Not a line of it was ever recorded against him. Suppose Balfour's note had been found, in a similar search of *his* papers, ordered in the same spirit by "the Estates"?

interrogatories as to the grounds of it, and as to his dealings with John Stewart, although the bond had been burnt, and the commissary beheaded. The fact proves, at least, that nothing could be extracted to his prejudice from the words of the document itself, however some might assail it with low abuse, in their spiteful and disingenuous journals. "The Earl of Montrose being interrogated,"—before the Committee of Estates, 5th August 1641,—"upon the paper concerning the Band which was burnt, declares, that he did *avow the paper;* and acknowledge that it was helped (corrected) with his Lordship's hand: Being interrogated what was the reason why such a paper should have been drawn up in justification of the Band that was burnt, and disclaimed?[1] answers, that it was not intended as a *justification* of the Band; for they did imagine that all of that kind was already *assopiat;*[2] but it was his Lordship's own private thoughts; which was not to come without the bounds of his own charter-chest, for what his Lordship did intend for the time; and that the paper was written by James Graham, his Lordship's servant."[3] No doubt it shared the fate

[1] A piece of disingenuousness in the record. Montrose and the other noblemen who signed the bond, condescended to *explain* its object, and to *disclaim* all sinister or unpatriotic objects. They never disclaimed the Bond.

[2] *i. e.*, laid asleep, or set at rest.

[3] *Original* MS. Record of Montrose's examination before the Committee of Estates, dated 5th August 1641; subscribed on each page by Montrose, and at the conclusion by Balmerino, as presiding.—*MSS., Advocates' Library.* The discovery of this remnant of the proceedings enables us to compare Montrose's actual declaration with Sir James Balfour's very meagre and disingenuous record of it in the *new conservative chapter* of his annals: "The House ordains the said Earl of Montrose to subscribe a *declaration against* the said *infamous paper* maintained by him." See *note* to p. 341.

Upon the 7th of August 1641, Montrose's "infamous paper" occasioned an excited debate in the General Assembly. Then it was that Baillie, in like vague and unvouched terms of abuse, reports it to Spang, *for the purpose of entering history,* as something "*debasing to Hell* his opposites." He never debased them so low as they debased themselves. Yet the same clergyman, ever contradicting himself in his excited missives, at the same time lets us into the secret, that our hero's manly avowal, and truthful explanation of this very paper, actually excited the admiration of one of his chief persecutors, the president of the inquiry! "Balmerino," he says, "moderator of that committee, *spoke very patheticallg for the truth of Montrose's words.*" And what was the Kirk's final judgment against what Balfour and Baillie endeavoured to foist upon history as "a scurvy infamous libel, debasing to hell his opposites"? "The Assembly *passed by* what concerned Montrose, or any particular person," in this storm in the covenanting *matula.*

of the Bond; nor have its contents ever transpired. And so the outcry ended in smoke, amid which these high-priests of Liberty again solemnly exorcised "the damnable Band." And this was all that came of spoiling his lordly dwellings, bursting his gates, smashing his doors, breaking his cabinets, rifling his coffers, carrying off his worthy purse-master, and doubtless stealing his purse, if it came in their way. But of his good name they could not thereby rob him: for there went abroad a smothered cry of *shame!* [1]

Nor can we leave the record last quoted, without a passing commentary on Burnet. The reader will bear in mind his convenient version of the manner in which the Covenanters became acquainted with the contents of a letter which Montrose wrote from their camp to the King, in the month of September 1640. Their only knowledge of it, he would persuade us, was derived, first, from Sir James Mercer having unavoidably read the address, as it accidentally fell to the ground when he presented the letter in which it was enclosed, to Sir Richard Graham; and, second, that when called in question for it by the committee at Newcastle, "Montrose came, and *produced a copy* of the letter he said he had written, and *craved pardon*, and so this matter was passed over." [2] There is a mode of misstating history that is more mischievous than downright falsehood. Bishop Burnet was an adept in the art; and the most flagrant specimens of it that ever issued from the press are to be found in his works. If the above be true, not only had the Covenanters that letter by heart, but they must have known that Montrose *knew that they had.* That having learnt its tenor by the surreptitious means which all the contemporary chronicles attribute to them, these factionists should now, in their desperate struggles to concoct a case against the noble loyalist, "pose" him with questions as to its tenor, and that he should decline to allow his memory to be so taxed or entrapped, is

[1] Guthrie mentions, in noticing the case against "the Plotters," that "nothing broke out at home of any great matters against any of them: That which was *most adverted to* was, that my Lord Sinclair's meddling against Montrose had produced *nothing to his prejudice.*" Some affect to consider Guthrie no authority in these events, and Balfour and Baillie never to be impugned! A proper search of the secret sources of that history leads to a very different conclusion.

[2] See before, p. 272.

perfectly consistent with that state of their knowledge. But that Montrose, supposing him, in terms of Burnet's version, to have actually produced a copy of it, to this same Inquisition, in the month of October 1640, should now, in August 1641, be closely interrogated as to the contents of that same letter, and that, when declining to tax his memory, in obedience to these endless interrogatories, he should have made no reference to the copy he had laid before them just ten months previously, is not within the bounds of possibility. The short minute of this examination, be it remembered, was made by *Brother Humbie.*

" Being interrogated whether his Lordship had written any letters to his Majesty the time he was in Berwick?[1] declares, to his memory he did write none; but that, in the time of the Parliament or Assembly, his Lordship did write one or two;[2] and after that time, to his Lordship's memory, did write none till the army was at Newcastle; at which time his Lordship *did write one letter;*[3] neither does his Lordship remember, particularly, the tenor of any of those letters."

Prior to this the Parliament had met, on the 15th July 1641, to receive a message from the King, proroguing his advent until the following month. It was then declared that nothing should be done before his Majesty arrived, by act, sentence, or determination of any kind, *except* to prepare, accommodate, and ripen the business of the legislature. To this, however, was added another large exception, comprehending, along with every other conceivable case, the decapitation of the miserable Commissary, —namely, should " any such occasion occur which the Parliament shall find to concern the public good, and peace of the kingdom, and present necessity thereof." This, of course, also covered their determination to institute a criminal process, upon capital charges, against " the Plotters," whom his Majesty's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hope, was commanded forthwith to pursue, for the good of the State, in the name of the King

[1] See before, pp. 215, 218.

[2] See before, pp. 221, 223, 228.

[3] See before, pp. 271, 272. The *tenor* of all Montrose's letters to his Sovereign may be judged of by those produced at p. 228, and p. 280; and the King's letter to him, p. 316

himself. That functionary,—whom his friend Baillie compliments with the character of being "*so wise*, and *so well dealt with by his two sons*, that he resolved to say nothing to the *Church* or *Country's* prejudice,"—undertook this, nothing loth, with the aid of Warriston; and thus libelled his long-suffering royal master as well. In vain Montrose petitioned for an immediate trial by his peers. The chief object was to keep him in close prison, so that the countenance of royalty might not shine upon him for a single moment, while the monarch remained in Scotland. The nobleman who was capitally indicted in the name of the King, was not to be favoured even with a trial during his Majesty's presence. In pursuance of this factious design, he was admitted to an audience of Parliament, on the 27th of July, that they might dispose of his repeated petitions for justice, or induce him to condemn himself, before Charles arrived. His Sovereign they had determined Montrose should not at this time see, either as a peer of Parliament, or as a State delinquent.

Amid a turmoil of injustice that would have tried the temper of a saint, Montrose never forgot what was due to himself as a nobleman. With severe but unexceptionable grace and dignity, he met the Parliament, which meanwhile continued to sit under the presidency of Lord Burleigh; a nobleman, says Guthrie, "who had gotten the employment because he was an implicit follower of the Earl of Argyle, though otherwise no great plotter." As our hero entered the great parliament hall of Edinburgh, where a thin house awaited him,—many of the peers, and others, being still absent with the army, and elsewhere,—he saluted the ruins of the Estates of Scotland, with that composed dignity, and observance of etiquette, which was a characteristic of his demeanour upon the most trying occasions, and to which Bishop Burnet alludes when, in his depreciating style, he records him as "stately to affectation." The words of the original contemporary manuscript from which we derive the scene, are,—"At first entry, after low *curtacie*, the President demanded my Lord what he had to say? My Lord answered, 'I have no further than what I have already humbly represented by my supplication; and am in all humility to expect your Lordships' pleasure, in what I shall be commanded."

This reply did not satisfy those whose desire it was that he should plead guilty, like John Stewart. Accordingly, he was ordered to withdraw. When recalled, the very same question was put to him, and received the same answer. A third time the persevering President urged the question, "if he had any thing to represent to the Parliament?" Montrose still answered as before; but, being thus pressed, he added the following words:—

"I am heartily sorry that it should be my misfortune to shew myself in this condition: For, as it has been far from my intention to fail in my duty to the public, so was it as much from my thought to appear here in these terms, that, whereas such as have been declared enemies to their religion and liberty were either to receive just censure or make due acknowledgment, I should have to consider myself as one within such a predicament: For what I have done (for the public) is known to a great many; but what I have done amiss, is unknown to myself: However, as *truth does not seek corners, it needeth no favour:* Neither will I trouble your Lordships with longer discourse; but resolutely rely upon my own innocence, and your Lordships' justice, and still in all humility attend your Lordships' pleasure:

"Being again removed and thereafter called, the President did ask as before, 'My Lord, have you any thing which I may represent to the Parliament?' Montrose answered:

"'Only what I have already humbly represented; which, with all patience, I am to expect your Lordships' resolutions in. Withal, I am confident, it should not be necessary for me humbly to beg your Lordships will be pleased to reserve me an ear: For I assure myself that both justice and your Lordships' wisdom will plead so much more strongly for me than I could express it myself: So I would only, in all humility, expect your Lordships' commands: *My resolution is*, to carry along with me *fidelity and honour to the grave;* and therefore heartily wish that I may be put to all that it is possible to question me upon; and either shall I give your Lordships all full and humble content, or otherwise, not only not deprecate, but petition all the most condign censure that your Lordships shall think suitable to so much demerit."[1]

[1] *Original* MS., *Cumbernauld Charter-chest.* Lord Fleming, Wigton's eldest son,

Montrose was ordered back to his prison, to wait the Parliament's pleasure; and John Stewart of Ladywell, as our hero himself expressed it, was "cut off" the next day.

We have seen that the Earl was again called before "the committee for the processes," on the 5th of August, under the pretext of being made to explain the document found in his charter-chest. Nor was this the last of the ensnaring examinations, with which he was harassed before the arrival of the King. He had now suffered two months of solitary confinement, continually paraded between his prison and the committee room, and treated with such indignity as mean minds are apt to exercise over lofty ones, when they have the power. Yet throughout the whole of this persecution we observe in him the same remarkable demeanour that, a few years afterwards, attracted to his scaffold the sympathy and admiration of Europe. No symptoms of excitement or violence ever appear. Not one expression of impatience, or disrespect towards his ungenerous pursuers, escapes him. Even in their own record of his "contumacy," we can trace nothing but the firmness of an invincible spirit, expressed with the dignity of an accomplished nobleman.

On the 14th of August, "this," says Sir James Balfour, "being the peremptory day to which the Earl of Montrose was cited to answer before the Parliament, after some debate, by voices he

and Montrose's cousin, acted as his procurator before Parliament, in this very matter, and doubtless had taken the above note of the scene. The Wigton papers were edited for the Maitland Club by Mr Dennistoun of Dennistoun, in 1841. It is fortunate that Montrose's address has been so preserved; for nothing could be more unfair than the following record of it, by Sir James Balfour, in his so-called Annals:—

"27th July 1641; Tuesday: My Lord Montrose compeared publicly this afternoon, and in *great humility* said he was come there to know what was the House's pleasure with him; saying that he was heartily sorry that it was his evil fortune to be put in the same predicament with those that had done evil offices to the State: Howsoever, he would obey their commands, and endeavour to go as near as he could to give them *all humble satisfaction:* He being removed, was again called, and asked by the President, if, or not, he had any thing more to say? Who answered, No: Then the President told him, that the House would take it into their consideration what course to take next; and in the mean time commanded him to return to the Castle." Could Sir James Balfour be ignorant that he was here noting for history, a most spirited address of an high-bred nobleman, under the false aspect of timid and abject submission? Why did he omit, "My resolution is, to carry along with me fidelity and honour to the grave?"

was ordained to compear in person at the bar, *as a delinquent*, in the place appointed for the *common incendiaries;* which he, *in all humility*, obeyed; and his trial was delayed until the 24th of August instant." It would have been instructive to have heard that debate, and to have scrutinized the sweet voices that voted Montrose a delinquent, and "common incendiary." A meagre note of the scene is all that appears among the minutes of that lawless Parliament; but it suffices again to expose the disingenuous annalist. The parliamentary record bears, that the high-spirited nobleman "offered himself ready to answer, and desired *no continuation;* and desired extracts of the depositions and papers whereupon his summons was founded." But he pleaded and protested in vain.

It was on the evening of this same day, Saturday 14th August 1641, that the King arrived at Holyroodhouse, accompanied, among others, by the Duke of Lennox, and the Marquis of Hamilton.

Yes, the King came to hold the Parliament in person,—a panacea for all evils of State, as Montrose and Napier fondly imagined. He came with the blood of Strafford weighing heavily on his soul; a popular murder, scarcely so excusable as lynch-law, in which his acquiescence had been taken by storm, thereby impelling him to an act of deplorable feebleness, for which he never forgave himself. It was covenanting co-operation which had accomplished that first act of the great tragedy of his troubles, as it did the last. How Warriston bellowed above the storm! "*Command* us to be *stout*,"—he writes to Balmerino,—"be diligent with your *lawyers*—prepare your *recruits*—let not this other *trick* of their causing the King *profess* he would come to Scotland himself to settle business,—which is a *trick of theirs* also,—terrify us, for fear of faction at home to grow by his presence: The lower House *will have Strafford's life* —are thinking on *moneys for us*—this in post haste—Lord encourage and direct them." It reminds us of,—

"The wolf's long howl on Oonalaska's shore."

Well, they got "Strafford's blood." And they got "moneys for us." And then the savage demagogue hurried to Scotland,

to put in for the blood of Montrose: "If any of *us*," again he writes to Balmerino, "be accused here, *ye wald think what to do with some there*, seeing we hear it comes from Montrose," &c.; and, "if I can win down, I shall do my utmost to help to prepare things." So down came the Procurator of the Kirk, "really," as he himself says, "to help to prepare the processes before Parliament,"—especially that against Montrose.

Charles the First, notwithstanding his haughty bearing, and that effervescence of hot and royal blood so frequently roused to his lips by the insolence, and the duplicity, of his Scotch Counsellors, or rather of those who forced their counsel upon him, was of too gentle and christian a disposition, to ride on such a storm, or to control the turbulence of the times. His own judgment, though sounder far than the judgment of those whom he was too apt to trust, was never relied upon by himself. When left to his own resources in difficulties, he was undecided and helpless as a child. On his throne of Scotland, at that Parliament of 1641, he was even less of a Monarch than the Doge of Venice, whom Montrose describes as no more than the idol to whom ceremonies are addressed. Charles was rather in the position of a delinquent at their bar; with this distinction in his favour, that when he entered the Parliament House, he was not ordered to "stand on the stage appointed for *delinquents*." But all those hostile feelings, and warlike projects against Scotland, which Hamilton had stirred within him only to his ruin, withered by the same influence, had passed away, and left a broken spirit behind. Strange, that the nobleman on whom alone the King leant, and with a love surpassing the love of women,—he who had secretly urged him to carry fire and sword into covenanting Scotland,—should now be in high favour with that very faction, colleaguing with them against his master,—while those whose secret advice to their Sovereign had been,—"Practice, Sir, the temperate government; it fitteth the humour and disposition of Scotland best; it gladdeth the hearts of your subjects; strongest is that power which is based on the happiness of the subject; once to accomplish peace, is better than a thousand triumphs,"—should be in prison, as *incendiaries* and *traitors*, invoking the names of Justice and Liberty in vain!

If the King never received the advice which emanated from our family party of plotters, the coincidence is very remarkable that his demeanour, upon meeting the Parliament, the sentiments and propositions which he uttered, nay, the very turn of his expressions, were such as might have been expected had he taken Montrose's letter as the guide and groundwork of his own plans and address. On Tuesday 17th August 1641, Charles proceeded to hold the Parliament, Hamilton bearing the crown, and Argyle the sceptre. Yes, under the malign conjunction of the "serpent in the bosom," and the "snake in the grass," was the Throne now destined to fall prostrate. His Majesty, "kindly saluting the House," and gracefully adverting to the unhappy differences with his native country, added,—"This I will say, that if love to my native country had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to do that by a Commissioner, which I am come to perform myself." Then he invoked their loyal feelings in support of his authority; and, as if echoing that eloquent assurance, from the imprisoned loyalists, that thousands in Scotland would shed their hearts'-blood ere his throne departed, and that he was not "like a tree lately planted, which oweth the fall to the first wind," he cast himself upon the affections of his people, for the maintenance of that hereditary sovereignty, "which," he said, "I do now enjoy for an hundred and eight descents, and which you have so often professed to maintain, and to which your own national oath doth oblige you." And, as if also mindful of that injunction to "satisfy them in point of religion and liberties in a loving and free manner," but at the same time to stand on his prerogatives, and to let the filling up the offices of State be his latest act there, the King thus concluded his address to the Parliament:—

"Now the end of my coming is shortly this: To perfect whatsoever I have promised; and withal to quiet those distractions which have, and may fall out amongst you: And this I mean not superficially, but fully and cheerfully to do; for, I assure you, I can do nothing with more cheerfulness than to give my people content, and a general satisfaction: Therefore, not offering to endear myself to you in words, which indeed is not my way, I desire, in the first place, to settle that which concerns

the Religion and *just* liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act."

Montrose and Napier, the peers who had written this speech for the King, or, at least, of whose sentiments, and very words, that speech was an echo, meanwhile appealed to Heaven through grated windows, in solitary cells. But,—

> " Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage."

This Parliament dared not call Montrose before them, to state his wrongs in presence of the King. But an attempt was made to cozen him out of a plea of guilty, in humiliating terms. On the 21st of August another petition from him was read to the House, the King being present—" humbly beseeching his Majesty," as Sir James Balfour records it, " and the honourable House, to take his, Montrose's restraint, to their consideration, and his willingness to obey their determinations,—in fine, *a submission to the House in obscure terms*" ! But the *obscurity* simply was, that he had couched his demands for justice in those terms of dignified respect, which respect for himself would never suffer him to omit, and which the King's presence would especially elicit from him now. For, when meanly pressed to say if this meant that formal submission which they longed to extort from him while the Sovereign was present, he returned for answer that such was *not* his meaning ; and that he desired " only a speedy just trial, with those papers that he had petitioned often before for."

Such is Sir James Balfour's own record of the matter, and from Baillie we learn the result. It seems that the form of a submission to the Parliament had been drawn up for Montrose's signature, which he refused. Many deliberations, says Baillie in one of his letters, occurred upon Montrose's petition to have his cause discussed ; but, " since he refused to subscribe the submission, which *the King saw and did not disallow*, the cognition of his cause was cast by till the Parliament had dispatched their more weighty affairs." A petition was then presented in the names of Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, praying that they might be released on sufficient caution. This petition, after much debate, was ordered, by plurality of voices, to have no answer at all until all public business was ended !

Their dishonest anxiety to implicate the King in these proceedings will be observed in Baillie's very weak assumption of his Majesty's silence, as approval. But Charles was helpless. The nod of one man in that Assembly would have sufficed to release Montrose, but that was not the King's. Had Argyle said, "let Montrose go free," who would have dared to say no? But not the most impassioned speech that Charles could have uttered in his favour would have shaken his prison door. The King had already been told so. He had struggled hard to obtain the benefit of oblivion for the innocent, as it was to be extended to the guilty; and that those who "have only left the cause and adhered to us be passed from." Even Loudon and Dunfermline had pressed upon the Parliament that gracious message of the King's. But it had been peremptorily rejected by Argyle; who, moreover, had insolently reminded the King himself of the "naughty baggage" thrown over-board. Charles, deserted and betrayed by Hamilton, and unable to stand alone, gave up that contest for their immediate liberty, in the silent and doubtful hope of saving them eventually from the fate of Strafford. It was no idle or calumnious notion, that which Montrose had adopted from his conversation with Lindsay. Argyle was now as effectually Dictator in Scotland as if the nation had proclaimed him so. And Montrose now felt practically the truth of what he had written to the King,—"weak and miserable is that people whose prince hath not power sufficient to punish oppression, and to maintain peace and justice."

Charles was now made to feel it too. Baillie, when furnishing his correspondent Spang with the details of this Parliament, writes, that "about the time Walter Stewart's informations had come to the King, giving probable assurance for convicting Hamilton and Argyle of capital crimes, if the countenance of a present King might favour the accusers, our commissioners of the *best note*, and the leaders of the English Parliament, by *all means* laboured to make *the King's journey difficult*." We have seen, too, that Warriston, in great alarm, declared that the idea of the King going to Scotland, was a mere *trick*, to frighten them. Yet Charles was now received with cordial greetings, in which the faction took all the credit to themselves of his

presence among them, and of the peaceful settlement proposed. When the President had made his acknowledgments in reply to the speech from the throne, up rose the "man of craft, subtilty, and falsehood,"—up rose "King Campbell." He answered the King *de jure* with a "cordial harangue of welcome." He compared the kingdom of Scotland to a ship that had been long tossed in a tempestuous sea, and which his Majesty was now steering through rocks and shelves to safe anchorage. But the man of craft was not contented with this complimentary application of his simile. By a sentence of unequalled insolence, referring to those whom the King vainly struggled to protect, Argyle gave him to understand how slight was the monarch's control of that vessel, which he did humbly entreat his Majesty that now he would conduct safely to harbour, "since that for her safety he had given way to cast out some of the naughtiest baggage to lighten her." Thus intimating not only that Montrose and his friends must be thrown overboard, but that the King must father the act.

Our hero was not permitted even to make his appearance on "the stage appointed for delinquents," in presence of the King. His late address to the Parliament, which the Lord Lyon shrunk from recording, had taught them what they might expect. They suffered his compatriots, however, to appear personally and answer to their citations, upon the 28th of August. But the experiment was somewhat hazardous, as the event proved. Napier was an old and esteemed friend of the King's; and that spirited statesman was not likely to deport himself as a *delinquent* in the presence of the very men who had "staid him by the cloak," and for two hours had plied him with arguments to accept of a *private* acquittal, and their secret declaration of his innocence, and irreproachable life. Fortunately he has left a precise note of a scene which that too partial annalist Balfour had also thought fit to suppress, though he records the occasion. Nor can we give it in better words than Lord Napier's.

"Upon the 28th of August, 1641, Lord Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, were sent for to the Parliament—being the day we were to answer—in three coaches *appointed by his Majesty him-*

self. How soon we came in at the outmost door, *his Majesty took off his hat*, and we approached. The President bade us go up into the stage appointed for delinquents. And after we had made our humble courtesy to the King, the President caused the clerk call the Advocates for the State by name, and then us. And thereafter he told us, that the Parliament, in regard of the weighty business in hand, would prorogate our day of hearing to the 8th of September next. To which I answered, that what his Majesty, and the House, did determine, we must and should be content with; but that they would be pleased, since the prime Advocates were taken up,[1] to allow those who were to consult with us, to *plead for us* also: and that we might have delivered to us an extract of the grounds of our process; and that we might meet together to consult about our lawful defences, that we might be readier to answer. The President told us, we might *supplicate* for these things, and that no answer could be given now. Then I desired to have liberty to speak; which the President refused, saying, that what I could say was *in causa*.[2] I said, that which I had to say was very short, and would not trouble them; and then I desired that his Majesty, and the House, would be pleased to hear me. The King—as I believe, for at such a distance I could not hear[3]—*bade voice it.* But it was granted, and not voiced.[4] Then, said I:—'What we have done, and while we were adoing of it, we thought we could not devise to do the King's Majesty, nor the Estates and Subjects of this Kingdom, better service: *And, God be thanked, I see his Majesty there:* I am confident we shall find the gracious effects of his presence: And, truly, if we have failed, either in matter or manner,—may be, but I never yet could conceive it: And yet we have received punishment that bears proportion

[1] Following Warriston's injunctions, written from London, all the most eminent lawyers were retained, under the title of "Advocates for the State," to conduct the criminal processes against the "Plotters;" and prohibited, on pain of treason, from pleading for any one of these. Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocate, was commanded to concur, and pursue for *his Majesty's interest*, a command which he obeyed.

[2] That is, that Lord Napier could have nothing to say which did not belong to the subject matter of the charges against him, which they would not allow him to plead at that time. The President was *Balmerino.*

[3] The scene is the vast Hall in Edinburgh, still called "the Parliament House."

[4] The Argyle government were afraid of the King carrying a vote of the House against them.

with very great crimes: We have been *eleven weeks* in the Castle; which we do not think much of; but by that means there lies a heavy imputation upon us; and suspicion of the people, as if we had committed some heinous crime; and thereby we are barred from sitting here as we ought; and are forced to hear libels, and summons, with the most opprobrious and reproachful words which ever were used to innocent or guilty men: So my humble desire to his Majesty, and the House is, that they will be pleased to take our cause and sufferings into their consideration.'

"*His Majesty nodded to me*, and seemed to be well pleased. So we took our leave."[1]

Alas! the poor King. He was in daily dread of the alleged "Plotters" being made to suffer the fate of John Stewart. Sir Patrick Wemyss, who attended Charles in Edinburgh, thus writes to the Marquis of Ormonde, of date 25th September 1641: "The King is to pass an act that none of the *Incendiaries* are to serve in his dominions: His Majesty has engaged his royal promise to Montrose, not to leave the kingdom till he come to his trial: For if he leave him *all the world will not save his life.*" In the same letter Sir Patrick says: "What will be the event of these things, God knows: For there was never King so much *insulted over:* It would pity any man's heart to see how he looks: For he is never quiet amongst them; and glad he is when he sees any man that he thinks loves him: Yet he is seeming merry at meat."[2]

This affords an interesting commentary upon the affecting trait noted by Lord Napier,—"His Majesty nodded to me, and seemed well pleased." Constitutional History has no conception of the constitutional rascality with which Charles the First was beset in Scotland, in the year of God and our liberties 1641.[3]

[1] *Original* MS., in the handwriting of Archibald first Lord Napier; *Montrose Charter-room.* This interesting and melancholy document was probably given by Napier to Montrose, among the remnants of whose papers it yet remains.

[2] Carte's Ormonde Papers, vol. i. p. 4.

[3] See the shameful conduct of the Argyle Parliament, and the pretended alarm of "the Incident," exposed in detail, and fully illustrated from original contemporary documents, in the author's former work, "Montrose and the Covenanters," vol. II. chap. vi.

The result was far different from what Montrose and Napier had anticipated, when they wrote to their royal master that "the remedy of this dangerous disease consisteth only in your Majesty's presence for a space in that kingdom." These conscientious but powerless counsellors had not taken into their calculation that he would be entirely in the hands of a faction as powerful as it was unscrupulous; working the great lever of fanaticism, in religion and politics, with all the energy of the best heads, and all the vice of the worst hearts in Scotland. Even Hamilton, whom Charles had so long and affectionately trusted, having, as we have seen, paved the way for such a crisis as this, now directly and publicly caballed with Argyle to rob and insult him. The few in Scotland who really loved their sovereign, dared not evince their affection, or were in prison for doing so. The result was, that, in order to save his friends, he was compelled to scatter honours and rewards at the bidding of his enemies. Indeed, says Clarendon, "he seemed to have made that progress into Scotland only that he might make a perfect deed of gift of that kingdom." And the Earl of Carnwath upon this occasion indulged in the melancholy jest, "that he would go to Ireland, and join Sir Phelim O'Neal, chief of the rebels there, and then he was sure the King would prefer him."

Charles might well exclaim, as Balfour tells us he did at this crisis of his forced and fatal concessions,—"I have granted you more than ever king granted yet, and what have you done for me?" The equivalent was, that the conscientious statesmen, whom they had falsely branded with the prejudicial terms "Incendiaries," and "Plotters," against whom not the vestige of a case, in law or equity, existed, instead of being immediately deprived of their lives or liberty, under some mockery of the forms of justice, were "to be liberated *on caution*, that from henceforth they carry themselves *soberly and discreetly*." Nevertheless they were still to undergo a trial; but it was to be before a *committee* appointed for that purpose. The faction took immense credit to themselves for remitting this strange course of justice to the tribunal of a committee of their own selection, whose proceedings were to be limited to the 1st of March 1642. Having already prejudged, calumniated, condemned, and punish-

ed these innocent noblemen and gentlemen, they "declare that they will not proceed to a final sentence, nor insist upon the punishment of the saids persons, but that they do, for the reason foresaid, freely remit them to his Majesty." The reason foresaid is worthy of the most impudent cabal that ever ministered to injustice and anarchy; namely,—"that his Majesty may joyfully return a contented prince, from a contented people." There follows, of the same date, another act, in name of the King, that, "taking in good part the respect and thankfulness of this parliament, in remitting to me those who are cited as incendiaries, and others, I will not employ any of these persons in offices or places of court or state, without consent of Parliament, nor grant them access to my person."[1]

There can be no doubt that the King's anxiety for the fate of those who really loved him, now dictated many of his concessions. His affectionate secretary, Sir Edward Nicholas, was at this time the sympathizing depositary of his wishes and distracted feelings. In one of his very interesting letters, Sir Edward thus writes, of date 5th October 1641: "I pray God there be not some design in detaining your Majesty there till your affairs here be reduced to the same state they there are in. I assure your Majesty the opinion of wise men here is, that to have what officers you desire in that kingdom, cannot make so much for your service there, as your absence hence at this time will prejudice you in business of more importance here. And as for *the Lord Montrose*, and the rest, some here (that *pretend to understand* the condition of their case) are of opinion, that their innocency is such, as they will not fare the worse for your Majesty's leaving them to the ordinary course of justice there." But the honest Secretary knew not how extraordinary was the course of justice now in Scotland. There is an important note, written by the hand of Charles himself, on the margin of Sir Edward's letter, in reply to the passage quoted: "This may be true that you say, but I am sure that I miss somewhat in point of honour if they all be not relieved before I go hence."[2]

[1] *Original* MS. Parliamentary Record.—*General Register House.*

[2] See the correspondence printed in the second volume of Evelyn's Memoirs p. 31, *quarto edition,* 1819.

CHAPTER XIX.

HISTORICAL CALUMNY THAT MONTROSE OFFERED HIS SERVICES TO KING CHARLES TO ASSASSINATE HAMILTON AND ARGYLE, EXAMINED AND REFUTED—CLARENDON'S HISTORY REDEEMED FROM A MISTAKE OF HIS EDITORS—THE CALUMNY NOT RECORDED BY BURNET—RIDICULOUS CHARGE OF INSULTING THE KING PREFERRED AGAINST MONTROSE IN HIS LIBEL—CONTAINS NO CHARGE OF AN OFFER TO ASSASSINATE—THE KING'S LETTERS TO MONTROSE CONCLUSIVE AGAINST ALL THE CALUMNIES—TREATMENT OF HIM AFTER THE KING'S DEPARTURE—HIS INDIGNANT AND CLASSICAL REMONSTRANCE.

WILL Montrose never be extricated from these tiresome Covenanters? Patience, gentle reader. Presently you shall wade through blood with him to the scaffold, and see them tear him limb from limb. But we have still to redeem him from the worst calumny that clouds his fame. A stain, indeed, so foul, that if it is not to be obliterated, neither his victories nor his death will suffice to save his character.

Did Montrose, at this memorable crisis insult his Sovereign, whose hand was yet agitated from its signature of the death-warrant of Strafford, with an offer of his own personal services to *assassinate* Hamilton and Argyle?

Imagine the nobleman, whom the meanest of his detractors admits to have been "stately to affectation," in the royal closet, bowing upon the hand of Charles the First, with the grace of a Bayard, and the propositions of a Blood! The nobleman who, with pointed sarcasm, had just reminded the Estates of Scotland, that, "As TRUTH does not seek corners, it needeth no favour." He who had just hurled in their teeth the haughty and high-minded defiance,—"My resolution is, to carry along with me FIDELITY and HONOUR to the grave." The story, in its worst aspect, saves the King. Charles is said to have re-

coiled with horror. Did the shock come from him, the climax of whose advice to that monarch, at this very crisis, was,—

> "———— Pax una, Triumphis
> Innumeris potior?"

From him who, when his heart and soul were more occupied with the fate of a falling monarchy, than the faith of an imaginary mistress, penned the stanza that contains the promise,

> "I'll serve thee in such noble ways
> Was never heard before?"

Perhaps we have said enough already to disprove the calumny. But the literary curiosity of its incoherent adoption, by modern historians of all degrees, demands a more particular illustration. For no covenanting chronicler, of Montrose's own times, seems to have been cognizant of the calumny. The secret correspondence of Warriston, the voluminous journals and letters of Baillie, the unfriendly annals of Balfour, the private diary of Hope, the virulent and abusive libels and proclamations of the covenanting government, are all as silent on the subject as if the hideous crime had been their own. Yet can we be allowed to doubt what Clarendon had recorded? Dare we dispute what Acherley and Oldmixon have so positively asserted, with *additions?* What Malcolm Laing has argued, and illustrated, and insisted upon, with *amendments?* What George Brodie has shouted with exultation, execrations, and *variations?* What the industrious Chambers has popularised, with a *difference?* What the curious D'Israeli ingeniously accounted for? The lively and minute Lindsay tacitly conceded? The inspired Scott ominously evaded? And the dispassionate Guizot, the calm spectator of our Troubles, conscientiously gathered from them all, as the truth?[1] Certainly the accusation itself is "neither new nor rare." But the bewildered reader of history, who would fain trace it to authority, cannot fail to "wonder how the devil it came there."

Clarendon, among his earliest and crudest manuscripts, unfortunately had left this passage:—"But now, after his Ma-

[1] See Appendix for illustrations from these various authors.

jesty arrived in Scotland (1641), by the introduction of Mr William Murray of the bed-chamber, he (Montrose) *came privately to the King*, and informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the Rebellion, and that the Marquis of Hamilton was no less faulty and false towards his Majesty than Argyle, and offered to make proof of all in the Parliament, but rather desired *to kill them both, which he frankly undertook to do;* but the King, *abhorring that expedient*, for his own security, advised that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament. When suddenly, on a Sunday morning, the city of Edinburgh was in arms, and Hamilton and Argyle both gone out of the town to their own houses, where they stood upon their guard, declaring publicly, that they had withdrawn themselves because they knew there was a design to assassinate them; and chose rather to absent themselves, than, by standing upon their defence in Edinburgh,—which they could not well have done,—to hazard the public peace and security of the Parliament which thundered in their behalf."

Whoever investigates the secret history of the King's visit to Scotland in 1641, will detect in the above passage a confusion worse confounded of that political mystification which obtained the name of "the Incident." At the very time when Montrose and his friends were so anxiously petitioning the Parliament for an immediate trial, in presence of their Sovereign, and when the dishonest clamour against "the Plot" was becoming somewhat flimsy and stale, a fresh impetus was suddenly given to the agitation of the public mind, by a false alarm that some desperate characters were hatching a scheme to murder, or to remove by violence (for of course the rumour was incoherent and contradictory) Argyle, Hamilton, and his brother Lanerick. This was vaguely mingled with dark hints that the King himself was a party to some diabolical plot against these noblemen, one of whom had reclined in his bosom for years, and been there protected against many direct accusations. There is not, perhaps, in history a more affecting picture than that which Sir James Balfour affords of the demeanour of the harassed and insulted Monarch, when, "with tears in his eyes, and, as it seemed, in a very great grief," he announced to the covenanting Parliament that Hamilton had fled

from his side, on the pretext that he was not in a place of safety there. "If I had believed," said Charles, "the reports of those of nearest respect and greatest trust about me, long before now, of him, I had greater reasons than now to have laid him fast: Not only did I then slight all such reports, but, in the face of them, took him by the hand, and maintained him against them all: Neither did I think that he could have found, if any such thing had been, *a surer sanctuary than my bed-chamber*."[1]

In this new plot, however, even the Earl of Lanerick, who wrote an account of the affair, does not surmise that our hero had any hand. Neither is his name mentioned in the proceedings in Parliament on the subject. Nor does the incident add a new count to his indictment. We find a slight passing allusion to it in Montrose's own manuscripts; and, manifestly, it is a notice by one who treated the new plot with most sceptical contempt, and perfect indifference. Complaining of the continual postponement of his trial, he says:—"Yet, notwithstanding all our most impatient earnestness, used as it may perhaps seem *tempore non satis opportuno*, some new *incidents*, as they term them, having divers times fallen, our instant supplications and prayers were never yet heard."[2]

What toad had spit this venom into the ear of Clarendon it were needless now to enquire. Obviously, it is an ignorant jumble of two contemporary events; "the Plot," of which Montrose was the hero; and "the Incident," in which he was not accused. Moreover, it must have been noted by the great Historian when so ill-informed as not to know that Montrose was, at the very time, a state prisoner, waiting to be tried for his life.

This last circumstance sufficed for David Hume. Scarcely

[1] Balfour's Annals, vol. iii. pp. 95, 96. This was a most affecting and cutting allusion to the occasion when the King had saved this favourite's reputation and life, under a serious charge of a design against his Majesty, by ordering him to sleep that night within the bed-chamber. The only coherent account of the false and fraudulent alarm of the Incident, is that by Lanerick, printed in the Hardwicke Papers, from the Hamilton archives, as mentioned above. He appears to have been duped by it; but the story, even as told by him, bears absurdity on the face of it. He imputes nothing to Montrose.

[2] *Original* MS., "Protestation" by Montrose, and his friends.—*Montrose Charter-room.*

pausing to consider the ridiculous accusation, and brushing it like an insect from the sleeve of History, he thought to crush it by this simple note: "It is not improper to take notice of a mistake committed by Clarendon, much to the disadvantage of this gallant nobleman, that he offered the King, when his Majesty was in Scotland, to assassinate Argyle. All the time the King was in Scotland, Montrose was confined to prison." But a host of historical writers, already pointed to, have flooded that philosophical note; and the poor Chancellor has been chained to the most ridiculous calumny in history, by his own editors.

In defence of Clarendon, however, it must be observed, that he himself never gave to the world a passage which stands in direct opposition to his subsequent and deliberate estimate of the heroic Montrose.[1] It belonged to some early and crude materials which he had collected for his own Life. The recent edition of his works reveals a fact very important to the present inquiry. By some confusion in the manuscripts, and some deplorable mismanagement in their preparation for the press, the ignorant and calumnious passage had been transposed, by a secretary, from the original manuscript of *the Life*, into a new but rough transcript of *the History*. This transcript Clarendon did not live to correct. Another passage, relating to the same transactions, being part of *Clarendon's own manuscript of the History*, and by which he had superseded the former account, was not only excluded, but entirely suppressed, by his editors. It has now, indeed, been restored, but only in the *Appendix* to the edition of 1826. The faulty passage, which is utter nonsense, and which Clarendon himself would never have published, actually retains its place in the text.

The suppressed passage being, so far as it goes, *the true history* thus elbowed out of the text, is not only fuller in its narrative of the transactions connected with the King's visit to Scot-

[1] Lord Nugent willingly adopts the calumny against Montrose, in his Life of Hampden: Yet he had not failed to remark the incongruity with which it disfigured Clarendon's History. "Clarendon," he says, "*forgetful of the crimes* which he imputes to Montrose in the early part of his history, says, in the latter part of it, that he was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior.—Vol. ii. p. 95. Lord Nugent had not attended to Clarendon's corrections; and he was forgetful that Clarendon did not publish his own work.

land in 1641, but it is substantially accurate. It stands the test of comparison with the secret history of Scottish affairs that has been discovered since. It avoids the mistakes of the other passage. It mentions that Montrose was *under restraint*, and the causes of that restraint; information which must have been obtained subsequently to the period when the passage retained in the text had been ignorantly noted. Indeed, it would have been surprising had the same ignorance appeared in the restored passage contained in the Appendix. For that is expressly founded upon what, says Clarendon, "the King hath told me;" and what "I have heard the Earl of Montrose say." And, after a much more particular account of "the Plot," and "the Incident," than is found in the former narrative,—but without a hint of Montrose having at this time made any proposition whatever to his Majesty touching Hamilton and Argyle,—Clarendon adds a sentence which is quite conclusive on the subject: "Whatever," he says, "was in this business,—and I could never *discover more* than what I have *here set down*, though the King himself *told me all that he knew of it*, as I verily believe,—it had a strange influence at Westminster, and served to contribute to all the *senseless fears they thought fit to put on.*"[1]

Clarendon thus redeemed, the modern historians are left unsupported. For even Burnet, the old-clothes-man of history, the unscrupulous apologist of Hamilton and maligner of Montrose, had not found this pearl among the heaps he raked.

Too glad would the faction have been, to have discovered the shadow of a shade of such an accusation against Montrose. Most anxious were they to depreciate his loyalty, as they calumniated his patriotism. The interminable labyrinth of abuse, of which the libel against him is composed, embraced two leading charges. The one was, that he had corresponded with "the enemy," contrary to his covenanting oath. But the enemy was his Sovereign; and the nature of their correspondence we have been enabled to disclose. The other charge was, that he had insulted and vilified his Majesty; and the manner in which this inconsistent accusation was attempted to be proved, is highly characteristic of those who preferred it. In the face of unan-

[1] See Edition of Clarendon's Works, 1826, vol. ii. App. B. referred to p. 13 of that vol.; and the Advertisement at the end of vol. i.

swerable evidence, internal and external, of the falsity of the charge, it was gravely, and with great prolixity, libelled against him, that he had dictated to Walter Stewart, in presence of his fellow prisoners, the following "Instructions" for Traquair at Court:—

"Not to let L drink water, except he promise not to *cast it again:* To assure D, and T, that, except they take *Genero* by the hand, they will be *trod upon*, and *made naked:* To assure L, D, and T, that G will take *him* by the hand, and lead him through all difficulties, R and L being granted."

Which dreadful mystery, so redolent of the genius of Montrose, was thus interpreted for them by Walter Stewart:—

"Not to acquaint *the King* with anything, except he promise to *keep secret:* To assure the *Duke* (Lennox), and *Traquair*, that my Lord *Montrose* will stand by him (the King) through all difficulties, *Religion* and *Liberties* being granted."

The first law officer of the Crown laid the very greatest stress upon this flimsy nonsense, as "a reproach and slander of his Majesty's person and reputation." His libel denounced it as "shameful terms," which "the said Earl of Montrose had spoken, or written, or caused to be written, *disgracefully* and *scornfully* of his Majesty." And then, lest haply the Parliament, all bamboozled as it was, might not appreciate the iniquity, he thus rings the changes upon Walter Stewart's puerile devices:—

"Let not L drink water, unless he promise not to cast it again! Whereby he meant, as the explanation of that passage made by the said Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart bears, that *Traquair* should not acquaint L—that is *the King*—with anything except he promise to keep it secret! Thereby ignominiously comparing the King to a *drinker of water until he cast it again!* And fully impropriating to his Majesty the *blot* of facility, indiscretion, and want of that laudable part, and gift, of *secrecy;* albeit it be known to all his Majesty's subjects, and manifest to all the world, as well his Majesty's friends as *foes*, that his Majesty is, in most eminent degree, replete and complete with, and in, *all royal virtues.*"

As Rubens was wont to touch with his immortal brush, and deathless tints, the school exercises of such favourite scholars

as Vandyke, so, we suspect, the master-hand of Sir Thomas Hope, his Majesty's Advocate for his Majesty's interest, may here be traced, immortalizing, with the glowing colours of his ardent loyalty, the handiwork of that promising scholar, Warriston, who ere long *succeeded him in his office!* Again the Lord Advocate of Charles the First rings another peal upon the words, which they knew full well that Montrose had *not* either written, or caused to be written :—

" Let not L drink water! That is, the King's Majesty drink water! Except he promise not to cast it again! As if his Majesty was to be ruled and over-ruled, by the said Earls of Montrose and Traquair! An *intolerable vilifying* of his Majesty, his person, and reputation; by slighting and lightful speeches of his Majesty, to his Majesty's great reproach, contempt, and dishonour; as if his Majesty—being our *dread Sovereign*, whom all his subjects are obliged, in all *effauldulls* (honest) humility and respect, to obey—were an *underling*, to be commanded by the said two indirect, clandestine, and disloyal practisers against the Estate!"

The conclusion and climax is, that Montrose, who, it is added, " in a very arrogant manner," applies to himself the complimentary term of " *Genero*,"[1] ought to be punished as a " leasing maker," with the loss of life and possessions; and this, says the Presbyterian prosecutor, " conform to the law of nature and nations, *engraven on the hearts* of all true subjects; obliging them to due reverence, honour, and respect unto their Sovereign, being *God's vicegerent upon earth*."

Good against Montrose from the Kirk-militant, who sold " God's vicegerent upon earth" to his murderers. Good from those who, at the very time, were day after day grossly insulting the King to his very face. But the poisoned shaft missed its aim. To this charge our hero, in his written defence, scarcely deigns to allude. The whole rhodomontade he contemptuously characterises as " *quisquilias volantes et venti spolia*,"—windy swirls of dirt and rubbish; and then, without condescending specially to defend his loyalty against such trash, he adds: " As for the *characters*, and *hieroglyphics*, falsely alleged to have been given by us to Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart, to be

[1] An argument, rather, that he did not dictate the term.

offered to Traquair, it is a manifest base calumny: For neither had he those cyphers of us, nor were we accessory to them either by word or writ."[1] But this most ridiculous accusation,—important, nevertheless, as a characteristic sample of the too triumphant faction that ruined the King,—and that more venomous whisper which some modern constitutionalists have magnified into history, receive the *coup de grace* from the King's own letters, addressed to Montrose immediately after his Majesty's return to England, which occurred in the month of November 1641:—

"MONTROSE,

"As I think it fit, in respect of *your sufferings for me*, by these lines to acknowledge it to you,—so I think it unfit to mention, by writ, any particulars, but to refer you to the faithful relation of this honest bearer, Mungo Murray; being confident that the same *generosity* which has made you hazard so much as you have done for my service, will at this time induce you to testify your affection to me as there shall be occasion; assuring you that, for what you have already done, I shall ever remain your most assured friend, "CHARLES R."

"Windsor, 27th January 1642."

And again, a few months afterwards:—

"MONTROSE,

"I know I need no arguments to induce you to my service. Duty and loyalty are sufficient to *a man of so much honour as I know you to be:* Yet as I think this of you, so I will have you to believe of me, that I would not invite you to share of my hard fortune, if I intended you not to be a plentiful partaker of my good. The bearer will acquaint you of my designs, whom I have commanded to follow your directions in the pursuit of them. I will say no more but that I am your assured friend,

"York, 7th May 1642."[2] "CHARLES R."

[1] *Original* MS. Libel against Montrose, with his Replies.—*Montrose Charter-room.* The public were never made acquainted with the charges against Montrose. Nor was the libel, or his answers to it, known to history, or understood to have been preserved.

[2] From the originals, in the Montrose Charter-room.

These autograph assurances of his royal master's estimate of his character, must have consoled him under the railing of that contemptible libel. The faction, not contented with having excluded him from the farewell banquet of the King, and indeed expelled him altogether from his presence and his service, now endeavoured to cheat him of the means of clearing his character, and of redeeming his position in society, even before the unconstitutional tribunal to which his case had been referred. By the act of Parliament, the proceedings of the committee for his trial were to be concluded on or before the first day of March 1642. Manifestly there was no intention of allowing him the benefit even of that most equivocal ordeal. Dated on the last day of February 1642, we find an indignant "Protestation," in the name of himself, and his no less injured compatriots, at the tyrannical injustice with which their incessant petitions to be tried had been as constantly rejected: "And I," he says, "the Earl of Montrose, being absent in Angus, *very unwell in my health*, in very stormy and tempestuous weather, at my arrival had only allowed me one free day to give in my defences; my appearing being upon the Friday at night, and Monday being assigned *peremptorie*; the *Sabbath*, sure, not being assigned to us for an idle day? Which libels,—made up of so many sheets of paper, in respect of the huge rhapsodies of those *quisquilias volantes et venti spolia*,[1]—were answered by us in two or three sheets at the most."—"We, therefore, James Earl of Montrose, Archibald Lord Napier, the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, in respect of the premises, and our diligent carriages to give all satisfaction to the most honourable the Estates of Parliament, and to your Lordships from them, to the end that *no wrinkle*, or *least shadow of blemish*, remain upon us in this behalf, do here protest that we are free and exonered of all suspicion of delay that may be thought cast in by us why the process intentit against us hath not taken, or may not take, a full end: And that we are, and may be holden, in the same terms and condition as before our charge; or as any of our

[1] See *Facciolati, Lexicon Latinum*, where, among other explanations, we find, "*Quisquiliæ*, the sweepings of a house, the offscouring or refuse of any thing, rubbish, riffraff, &c. *Cæcil.* apud *Fest.* 'Quisquilias, volantis venti spolia, memoras.'"

quality or equals within this kingdom, in all regards whatsoever."[1]

Thus ended the persecution against them, without a trial at all. "The Plot," like its coadjutor "the Incident," was a dishonest bugbear of faction, got up by Johnston of Warriston in support of the dictatorship of Argyle, and cast aside when the purpose was served. Harassed and hurried as he was, Montrose had prepared a most telling defence. The draft of it, corrected by the hand, not to be mistaken, of Montrose himself, we find among the family papers. Of all the hero's characteristics, there is none more interesting, than the aptitude of his classical reading, and his poetical tendency, to struggle into view, upon various occasions when his mind might well be supposed entirely absorbed by the danger of the crisis, and the anguish of the moment. Having carefully revised his defence, and seen that it was good, the recollection of all that he had done for "the Cause," when he believed it to be the cause of God and the People, swelled in his bosom. "And this," he said, "this is the reward for life and ever-wakeful energies devoted to my country; an ignominious punishment is the return for the genius I have displayed in the cause." But this sudden and lofty abstraction, this melancholy appeal, not to the faction he despised, but to his country which he had in vain struggled to serve, did not find vent precisely in the paraphrase we have given. He remembered those terser terms in which the exiled poet deplores his fate, and deprecates the inexorable Augustus. And so, when satisfied with his "Replies," he dashes in for a climax this distich, displaying his firmest and boldest autograph,—

"Hoc pretium vitæ vigilatorumque laborum
Cepimus, ingenio est pœna reperta meo."[2]

[1] I have collated three drafts of this Protest; two among the Montrose papers, and one among the Wigton papers. They vary somewhat in expression, but are all to the same effect.

[2] The quotation is from Ovid, *Tristia*, II. i. 9. But it can have no application to Charles I., to whom Montrose's punishment at this time was a great distress and gross insult. We venture to translate it,—

For life's best labours lavished on the State,
A patriot's genius finds a felon's fate!

Hoc pretium vite, vigilatorium: Laborum
capimus, Ingenio est pena, negotio meo

Montrose

APPENDIX.

I.

ORIGINAL PORTRAITS OF MONTROSE, AND SOME OF HIS FAMILY CIRCLE.

It was the fate of Montrose to be no less obscured, misunderstood, and even calumniated, in the *physique* than in the *morale*. Rejecting, of course, the endless engravings of the penny-print school, produced and reproduced throughout the progress of a century, and all claiming for their common parent the Dutch caricature of Montrose engraved by Houbraken in 1740, we were constrained, so lately as 1838, to repeat for our frontispiece, on a smaller scale, the engraving in Lodge. But the portraits in that attractive gallery of illustrious personages, stand very much in the same relation to the Vandykes, Dobsons, Honthorsts, Jamesons, &c., which they represent, that the pleasant but flimsy text bears to minute and accurate biographical history. The Marquis of Argyle, with a head not his own, indeed presented to us under one of the finest aspects in the collection,—John Knox represented with a plan or chart before him, a pair of compasses in one hand, and a mason's rule in the other, at once shook our faith in Lodge's *individualities*, as regards Scotland at least. A record of the kind, however, embracing so vast a field of illustrious effigies, which shall be impervious to any such criticism, must be reserved for a millenium of art. So, when in 1838, we published "The Life and Times of Montrose," having as yet seen no original portrait of our hero whatever, we were fain to cook an epitome of the portrait in Lodge, for our own small octavo. The reader is here presented with a specimen from that plate.

Hitherto the name of no artist but Sir Anthony had been connected with any well-known portrait of the champion of Charles the First. Yet it cannot be doubted, when the matter comes to be investigated, that the immortalizer of the English Cavaliers never dipt his brush in a colour to represent the Scotchman who may be called the Cavalier of "the Troubles" *par excellence*. This question must be disposed of at once, ere laying before our readers the only information relative to original portraits of Montrose, that any one has hitherto been at the trouble to discover.

Sir Anthony Vandyke "died in Blackfriars, December 9, 1641," says the well informed Walpole, "and was buried on the 11th in St Paul's, near the tomb of John of Gaunt." Not very long before his death, he was married, under the auspices of his royal patron, to Maria Ruthven, grand-daughter of John first Earl of Gowrie, Montrose's maternal grandfather. But this connection did not make them acquainted. Vandyke immediately after his marriage set out for Paris, intent upon distinguishing himself there; but ere long returned to England, disappointed in that speculation, and again relying upon the patronage of his best friend King Charles. In 1641, death put an end to his ambitious scheme of decorating the walls of one of the rooms in Whitehall with the history and procession of the Garter. Had he lived to perform the feat, Montrose, who did eventually earn that great distinction, could have found no place in Vandyke's representation of the illustrious Order. Sir Anthony never painted a portrait in Scotland, and it is not known that he ever visited that country. While the future champion of the Throne was as yet only in a miserable transition state between the Covenant and the King, Vandyke was abroad. Throughout the most part of 1641, the year of the artist's death, Montrose was suffering under persecution and restraint as a "delinquent" in Scotland. He had not as yet attained even the distinction of a "malignant." We can discover no reason to suppose that Sir Anthony and the future martyr of loyalty ever met. Certainly they never met under circumstances that could have induced, or enabled, the King's painter in ordinary to present to the world an heroic portrait of a too notorious covenanter. Montrose did not join the Court of Charles the First until some time after Vandyke was in his grave.

It is only since our former publication, in 1838, that we have been so fortunate as to bring to light, and authenticate, three original portraits of Montrose which had never been engraved. And a fourth, that, namely, still in possession of his family, we think we can now trace to its proper source. These four very interesting portraits, accurate engravings of which illustrate the present biography, we proceed to describe and account for in the order of their chronology.

I.—PORTRAIT OF MONTROSE BY JAMESON, DATED 1629, IN POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF SOUTHESK, AT KINNAIRD CASTLE. (*Frontispiece, vol.* I.)

The liberal permission accorded to us by the late Sir James Carnegie of Kinnaird, subsequently to the publication of "The Life and

Times of Montrose," to institute a search among the archives of the Southesk family, for documents relating to his early marriage to Magdalene Carnegie, first brought to light all those interesting particulars of his youth and education, by which the present edition of his biography has been rendered so complete. When we came to peruse the accounts of the domestic expenditure of the young Earl, which his temporary establishment in Kinnaird Castle caused to be preserved there, we found a distinct and precise entry of the following facts. On the 3d of November 1629, Montrose rode to Aberdeen from Morphie, the seat of Sir Robert Graham, one of his curators, and there had his portrait painted. At this time he was just seventeen years of age; and on the 10th of November 1629, as the same accounts prove, he was married to the daughter of Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird (afterwards Earl of Southesk) in the kirk within the park of Kinnaird, and the young couple immediately took up their abode in the castle. The portrait painted in Aberdeen was brought to the castle of Kinnaird on the 2d of December 1629; and, from a note in the account-books, would seem to have been a marriage present from Graham of Morphie to the young Countess. The artist's name is not mentioned in the accounts; but as George Jameson, Scotland's only known artist of the period, was at that very time following the profession of a portrait-painter in his native town of Aberdeen, the reason for the young nobleman riding to Aberdeen to sit for his portrait is manifest.

This discovery of course suggested the enquiry, whether a portrait of Montrose was yet preserved among the family pictures at Kinnaird Castle. The *desideratum* was,—a portrait of Montrose painted in 1629; when he was seventeen years of age; and painted by Jameson. The facts disclosed by the accounts had been, with those neglected papers, long buried in oblivion. Yet the tradition seems to have been transmitted in the family, that the gallery of Kinnaird could boast of a portrait of Montrose. Tradition, however, had settled on a wrong one. When we first visited the castle in search of it, there was pointed out as such, the head and bust of a middle-aged steel-clad warrior, black and truculent as the Covenant could desire, but without any resemblance to Montrose in feature, expression, or complexion, at any period of his life. A glance sufficed to reject the grim usurper; and little more was required, by an experienced eye, to attract it to a portrait of the young Montrose, decorating the same wall. A boy of fair and somewhat delicate complexion was smiling at the spectator, with an aspect that spoke not of "the Troubles." But the port, erect and lordly, the exuberant auburn hair, of a fairer hue than the later por-

traits, the "penetrating grey eye," the finely moulded nose with its sensitive nostril, and the characteristic expression of the compressed lips, as yet devoid of the shadow of a moustache, at once suggested the young Montrose. Then the sumptuous dress—a rich olive-velvet doublet, profusely slashed with white satin, every seam and edge trimmed with gold, and over the collar a lace ruff of the most delicate texture—seemed to announce the boy Benedict in his wedding bravery. A closer inspection discovered these dates painted by the original artist on the upper corner, to the right of the head,—"*Anno* 1629. *Ætatis* 17;" and in the back-ground, near the left shoulder, this autograph,—"*Jameson, fecit.*" The problem was solved.

The pupil of Rubens, and fellow-student of Vandyck, might well put his name to this interesting and graceful portrait, which had been called Sir John Carnegie of the Craig, upon no better authority than if it had been dubbed Sir John Colvil of the Dale. It is a head size, generally adopted (from necessity) by Jameson, and in the usual conventional position, half in profile, with the right shoulder presented to the spectator. Like most of the early portraits of that master, it is painted on panel. A slight flaw down the centre, which fortunately mars no feature, is the only injury of any consequence incurred through the lapse of two centuries. It is "signed all over," even had the artist not added his name. For there is no mistaking the light rapid pencil, warm priming, and thin transparent colouring of Scotland's only artist in the great era of painting.

No type or shadow of the warrior's career is to be found in that portrait. Not even the hilt of a dagger. The artist had only to deal with the lively school-boy, who headed the sports at St Andrews, and led the Christmas revels at Balcarres, and in many others of the ancient halls of Scotland; whose college fame was chronicled by a poor "Hungarian poet;" whose ancestral glories, and early promise, were lauded in more ambitious strains by William Lithgow; and who, wherever he went, was welcome to the rich, and kind to the poor; and fed his hunter with loaf bread and ale; and delighted in minstrels and mummery; and who was now, while yet a boy, on the eve of separating himself from the ways and means of boyhood, to settle as a married man at Kinnaird, with sweet "Mistress Magdalene Carnegie."

The engraving of this long obscured work by a master of whom Scotland may well be proud, now for the first time attached to a biography of its illustrious subject, was executed in 1848 for the historical collection which the author compiled, under the munificent auspices of the Maitland Club, and entitled "Memorials of Montrose." The liberality

of that great literary Society was further extended to bestowing the plate upon this new biography of the hero.

II.—PORTRAIT OF MONTROSE BY JAMESON, DATED 1640, IN POSSESSION OF PRINCIPAL MACFARLAN OF GLASGOW COLLEGE. (*Page* 289.)

There is at present in the possession of the very Reverend Principal Macfarlan, a portrait in tolerable preservation, the originality, and even authorship of which is obvious on the first inspection, without the aid of the following legend, which appears on the back of it :—

"The great Marquis of Montrose, when in England in the year 1640, took refuge in the house of a Mr Colquhoun, a clergyman, second son of the Camstraddan family, where he remained for a considerable time. When about to depart, he thanked Mr C. for the respect and tenderness with which he had been treated, and the fidelity with which he had been concealed, regretting he had not something more substantial than words by which to express his gratitude. Mr C. replied,—'You now have it in your power to repay an hundredfold any little service we have ever done you; a likeness of your Highness would be inestimable;'—that if he would condescend so far, Jameson the Scotch painter was in the house, a man of honour, a friend who might be trusted. The Marquis agreed, and the picture now in our possession was the likeness taken. About the year 1755, my father, Robert Colquhoun of Camstraddan, became possessed of the portrait; and in 1776, Lord Frederick Campbell carried it to London, and had it cleaned. On bringing it back to Camstraddan, he told my father it had been greatly admired by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and other judges of painting. No copy was ever allowed to be taken, so far as my memory serves me. Such is the account I have frequently heard from my father, who died 1787, aged seventy-one.

"Margt. Haldane Colquhoun,
"Melville Place, Stirling, 2d March 1833."[1]

In 1640 Montrose was still a covenanting commander, passing occasionally between their leaguer in Newcastle, and Edinburgh, but under no necessity whatever of concealment. So far, then, the tradition is at fault. The portrait itself, however, sufficiently establishes the main

[1] Miss Colquhoun died in 1838. The proprietor of the portrait, for whom Principal Macfarlan has it in keeping, is Robert Colquhoun, Esq., late of Camstradden, H. B. M. Consul General at Bucharest.

fact, that it is Montrose by Jameson. It displays every characteristic of the master, and has been more elaborately executed than the Kinnaird portrait, but not so well preserved. Moreover, we have the date, 1640, in the corner of the picture where Jameson usually painted it, and in the same kind of figures.

A change had come over the spirit of Montrose's dream since he sat to the same artist eleven years before. His archery, and golfing, and hunting, and minstrelsy, and domestic enjoyments, had all merged in the public commotions. For four years he had been boiling in the pitch that we cannot say did not defile him. He had stood upon a barrel in the High Street of Edinburgh and harangued a mob against Episcopal goverment, till the facetious Rothes predicted his yet higher elevation "in a tow." The times had determined the bent of his ardent genius to arms. He was already distinguished as a soldier of the Covenant. This boy had already crushed the loyal demonstrations of the veteran Huntly in the North, and conducted that potent chief from the midst of his clan a prisoner to Edinburgh. He had redeemed "the Cause" from Haddo's "Trot of Turreff," by the desperate battle of the Dee. But the course of his armed rebellion was already run out. He had alarmed the Covenanters by making a stand in the senate for Monarchy, when he defended the prerogatives of the Crown; and in the field for the cause of humanity, by protecting the loyal city which he had been ordered to reduce to ashes. He had come into contact with his Sovereign; and it was at this crisis of his career that the covenanting vulgar affixed to his door the complimentary taunt, *Invictus armis verbis vincitur;* and that the Argyle faction openly denounced him with the threat that "*his sword should be taken from his side before two months passed.*" Such was Montrose in 1640, the twenty-eighth year of his age, when George Jameson undertook to paint him again. We have it now engraved for the first time.

The attitude in this half-length portrait is precisely the same as that painted in 1629. But the costume is very different. The sleeves, only, of a pink and white satin doublet appear, and these not puffed or slashed. The rest of the person is covered by a military buff-coat, which imparts a fine tone and surface of colour to the picture. A broad sword-belt, richly embroidered, crosses the breast; and these warlike signs are relieved by a falling collar of costly lace and true Vandyke pattern, such as a countess might covet in these degenerate days of male attire. One defect in the composition is observable. In the portrait which Jameson first painted, the hair is naturally parted and turned aside over the brow, so as completely to discover it, and though

full and curling is of moderate length. But in that now described, while the auburn locks descend in voluminous waves to the shoulder, the hair in front is cut straight across, and very close to the eyebrows, according to a most unbecoming fashion of the day, which Jameson and other masters too frequently submitted to. This, and the black calotte cap on the crown of the head, constitute a striking resemblance between the Camstradden portrait and the one at Buchanan House, to be presently noticed, besides great similarity in the features.[1] Both of Jameson's portraits possess the advantage of representing Montrose in the very dress he wore. In this respect all the other portraits of him that we have seen, and the whole herd of prints, are merely figurative. It was not the habit at that time to be cased in armour like the knights of old, although it was the right of every great military commander to be so pourtrayed. The *English Tintoret*, and *Gherardo dalle Notte*, whose portraits we have next to discuss, have given us sublime historical representations of the hero. From George Jameson we have biographical delineations of the individual, as boy and man.

III.—PORTRAIT OF MONTROSE BY DOBSON, PROBABLY PAINTED IN 1644, IN POSSESSION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MONTROSE AT BUCHANAN HOUSE. (*Frontispiece, vol.* II.)

As might be expected, there is a portrait of Montrose at Buchanan House, the seat of the Duke of Montrose. We find from the date on Houbraken's engraving of it, to be afterwards noticed, that it has been in possession of the family at least for a period extending so far back as 1740. Nor are we aware of any reason for doubting that it has been in the family since the time it was painted.

Unquestionably this is an original portrait of the great Marquis, and

[1] The following clerical description of Montrose is worthy of being preserved among the curiosities of literature:—

"Montrose's genius, restlessness, ambition, and personal antipathies, moved him from one side to the other *quick and clear as the fluid in a spirit-level*. The daring, romantic, and brilliant military movements of Montrose, naturally lead us to expect in his portrait something of the stern decision of a Roman hero; but for once at least, in this group, either Lavater, or *the painter*, is at fault. The unmeaning common-place countenance, the low round head, covered with long dark hair, hanging almost *half over the face*, and the *simple* and *soft eyes*, convey more of the notion of a weak well-meaning *enthusiast*, than of the fiery ambition and unconquerable spirit of Montrose." (Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, by the Rev. John Aiton of Dolphinton. 1836.)

To what atrocious *print* this worthy clergyman had applied the ingenious test of his *spirit-level*, in order to construct a Montrose after his own fancy, I know not. Obviously he had never seen a painted portrait of the Marquis.

by a most masterly hand. The colouring of the head is extremely rich, and the flesh tints especially are warm and glowing as nature itself. The figure, clad in armour beautifully painted, terminates awkwardly just under the bend of the elbow. The attitude, being a full front, though firm and heroic, is not graceful, and anything but characterestic of the composition of Vandyck. But the expression is very animated, the air noble, and the execution generally not unworthy of having been attributed to that renowned artist. In the corner of the back-ground, elevated above the right shoulder of the figure, stands the statue of Minerva, armed, a symbolical accessory intimating how accurately the artist appreciated the accomplished character of the warrior Marquis. In the opposite corner of the back-ground, also elevated upon some architectural projection, rests the helmet of the mailed figure; which represents,—as a comparatively modern label superinduced upon the ancient painting intimates,—"James first Marquis of Montrose."

A very minute examination of this portrait, for which his Grace kindly afforded every facility, enables us to pronounce without hesitation that it is but the remnant of a much larger picture. The present form of it is nearly square, but somewhat broader than long. The accessories in the back-ground are out of all proportion to what remains of the picture; and assuredly the masterly hand that coloured the head and armour, never would have added those accessories to any composition less than a full length figure, on a large canvas. But that the head and shoulders, which are life-size and fortunately in a state of good preservation, represent only a portion of the original painting, seems placed beyond doubt by the fact, that the edges of the canvas, where folded over its present stretcher, distinctly indicate, by the broken remains of colour, that the original painting had extended on every side beyond the limit of the present surface.

This splendid work of art, for enough remains to show that such it was when entire, would seem to have been reduced to its present fragmentary state, of an ill-proportioned and ungainly head-size, for at least more than a century back. *Vertue* and *Houbraken* each engraved it prior to the middle of last century, without giving more of the figure than we find now. And we cannot doubt that the reason why both of these celebrated artists omitted altogether the ornate and characteristic accessories in the upper corners of the picture, was, because the Goddess and the helmet, predominating on either side, *bully* (so to speak) the heroic head beyond what the artistic eye could endure. Their several performances shall be more particularly noticed afterwards. The accurate and pains-taking Vertue has avoided the blunder of affixing to

his engraving the name of Vandyck, while he mentions the fact of the portrait being in the possession of the Duke of Montrose. But Houbraken to this latter fact adds the assertion of the portrait having been painted by Vandyck, and dates his own engraving of it, 1740. What! One of the most heroic and *cavalieresque* portraits of the age, produced by the immortal limner of royalty and loyalty from such a theme as the *covenanting* Montrose, prior to the year 1641? Impossible.

Having separated this best known portrait of the hero from the great master under whose name it has hitherto been engraved, it becomes us, if we can, to establish the real authorship.

William Dobson was appointed Sergeant-painter to Charles the First, on the death of Vandyck in 1641. He was the most successful imitator of his illustrious predecessor and patron. Walpole commends him; and, yet more precious to his fame, he is lauded by Sir Joshua Reynolds. So far from there being any chronological difficulty as to Montrose having been painted by the immediate inheritor of the courtly position and celebrity of Sir Anthony, it is not very easy, under the circumstances, to imagine the contrary. When the King held his military and migratory court at Oxford in 1643–4, at the commencement of the great civil war, he was attended by Dobson as his Sergeant-painter; and, adds Walpole, "at Oxford his Majesty, Prince Rupert, and *several of the nobility* sat to him." Now Montrose had been admitted to the King's most confidential counsels in Oxford *at that very time*, superseding those of Hamilton. It was then and there that he pledged himself to relieve the King from the pressure of the covenanting army, by creating a diversion in Scotland. His commission as Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's forces raised or to be raised in Scotland, or brought thither from England, is dated at Oxford on the first day of February 1644. The warrant for a patent creating him and the heirs male of his body Marquises of Montrose, is dated at Oxford on the sixth day of May 1644, and of course had been contemplated for some time prior to that date. That he was one of the nobles who sat to the Sergeant-painter at Oxford upon this great occasion, is certainly most probable. Accordingly, we do find a portrait of Montrose recorded among the performances of William Dobson. While enumerating his works, Walpole says: "At the Lord Byron's is the portrait of Sir Charles Lucas; and at Drayton, in Northamptonshire, Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, in armour, with a page holding his horse, and an angel giving him his helmet. *A head* of the Marquis of Mon-

trose was taken for the hand of Vandyck; in a corner, in stone colour, is a statue of *Peace;* on the other side his helmet."

Walpole, in this paragraph, had failed to attend to his own maxim, "not to become obscure by brevity and conciseness." By whom, and where, was Montrose's *head* mistaken for Vandyck's *hand?* Not, as we have ascertained,[1] at Drayton in Northamptonshire. Doubtless Walpole alludes to that remnant of a portrait, (hence described as a *head,*) in the possession of the Duke of Montrose. The accessories mentioned by him, seem to identify the portrait of which he speaks with the one at Buchanan House. He calls, indeed, the symbolical figure in the back ground a statue of *Peace;* an attribute surely not very characteristical of Montrose. Having closely examined the portrait, when in our own possession, we can say that the statue represents Minerva, with her shield braced on the left arm, extended downwards, the other arm being out of the picture, owing to its imperfect condition.

But whence Walpole's oracular judgment, that "a head of the Marquis of Montrose *was taken* for the hand of Vandyck,"—instead of Dobson, to whom he imputes it? This, too, can be easily explained. Houbraken, more courtly than careful in such matters, engraved it in 1740 as a work of Vandyck, to whom a loose family tradition had probably referred it. Vertue attached no such blunder to the small engraving which he executed of the portrait at least ten years before, and does not venture, on the face of his plate, to assign it to any one. From his voluminous MS. notes, however, forty volumes of which Walpole purchased from Vertue's widow, his aristocratic editor had derived the information, that Houbraken's impress, or the family tradition, was a mistake, and that *Dobson*, and not *Vandyck*, was the author of that portrait. Those charming volumes, "Anecdotes of Painting in England," doubtless are indebted for their charm to Walpole, but for all their facts to the laborious and scrupulous engraver, of whom his editor tells us, that "the indefatigable pains of Mr Vertue left nothing unexplored that could illuminate his subject."

The conclusion we arrive at is, that the portrait in question was painted at Oxford in 1644 by William Dobson, Sergeant-painter to the King, then holding his Court there; most of the noble Cavaliers being upon that occasion submitted to his pencil; and, among the rest Montrose, just commissioned as Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's forces in Scotland. And the fine colouring of the animated head, breath-

[1] Through the kind offices of our friend Mr Stirling of Keir.

ing loyalty and lustihood, and as if rejoicing in having shed the chrysalis of the sordid Covenant; the easy flowing pencil manifest in the luxuriant locks, flashing golden light round the glowing countenance; the symbolical accessory; the rich tone of the brilliant armour,—all bespeak the hand of him who caught his inspiration from an early and anxious study of Titian, and was rewarded by Charles the First designing him "the Tintoret of England."

IV.—PORTRAIT OF MONTROSE, BY HONTHORST, DATED 1649, IN POSSESSION OF THE LORD PANMURE. (*Page* 711.)

Immediately after the death of Charles the First, Montrose was invested by Charles the Second with the yet higher commission of Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, and Captain-General of all his Majesty's forces there. This commission is dated at the Hague, on the 4th of March, 1649. The King was put to death on the 30th of January of that year. That upon this second great occasion, also, Montrose sat for a heroic portrait to another worthy successor of Vandyck, is a fact we are now enabled to demonstrate; and it tends to confirm the theory of the former portrait. In one of a series of letters to Montrose from the Princess Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and sister to Charles the First, written very soon after the murder of her brother, she says,—"I give you many thanks for your picture; I have hung it in my cabinet to fright away *the Brethren*." This letter is dated "the Hagh, this 24th of June," 1649. Montrose had just gone to Breda with Charles II., who had recently been at the Hague, and had there signed Montrose's commission, as above mentioned, in the month of March. There is every reason to believe that the picture acknowledged by her Majesty (which from the *in terrorem* display of it could scarcely be a miniature,) was a heroic portrait, painted at the Hague, by *Gerard Honthorst*, one of the first artists of his day, who was there at the same time with Montrose, and in the service of the Queen of Bohemia and the Prince of Orange. This was the celebrated *Gherardo dalle Notte*, born at Utrecht, but who had acquired that name and fame from his early studies in Italy. There, under the patronage of Prince Justiniani, he chiefly excelled in night-pieces and candle-light effects. Charles the First patronised him for a time in England, and rewarded him with three thousand florins, a horse, and a service of silver-plate. But he returned to his own country; and at the unhappy commencement of the reign of the second Charles, in 1649, Honthorst was at the Hague, continually painting for the Queen of Bohemia, whose daughters he had the honour

to instruct in the art, and the portraits of whose sons, the princes Rupert and Maurice, he had taken most probably about the time when he painted Montrose. Walpole says: "Mr West has the portraits of the Marquis of Montrose, of the Princes Rupert and Maurice, with his name written to them thus, ^{G}Honthorst."[1]

Montrose was highly esteemed by both of those Princes, and his first commission, as Lieutenant-General of Scotland, was (by his own express desire) under Prince Maurice. Mr West had probably acquired possession of the very portrait which Montrose presented, in the month of June 1649, to the Queen of Bohemia. This might well have happened. The collection of that unfortunate Princess, who was involved in the ruin of her husband and brother, was no doubt partially dispersed. It is said that in her widowhood she was privately married to the first Earl of Craven, to whom she bequeathed most of her property; and hence Combe Abbey is still rich in portraits, many of them productions of *Gherardo dalle Notte*. But the portrait of Montrose is not there. That mentioned by Walpole, in conjunction with those of Rupert and Maurice, has ever appeared to me a great object of research ever since finding the very interesting acknowledgment of it by the "Queen of Hearts." For if Honthorst painted Montrose shortly before the date of that letter, it must have been while he was yet suffering from the shock of the murder of his Sovereign; and a heroic portrait of him, at that crisis, calculated "to fright away the Brethren" from the cabinet of the Queen of Bohemia, and by a painter who had been munificently patronized by Charles, could scarcely fail to be treated *con amore*.

While prosecuting these researches on the subject of Montrose's portraits, one was shown to me at Lincluden House, in Kirkcudbrightshire, by the Honourable Mrs Young, who called it a portrait of Montrose by *Vandyck*. It had formerly passed from the Panmure family to the late Marquis of Queensberry, and was by him bequeathed to the present Lord Panmure (in the lifetime of his father,) whose sister, Mrs Young, thus happened to possess it. To determine that it was a portrait of Montrose, independently of his name, "Marqus. Montrose," painted at the upper edge of the panel, and unquestionably contemporary with the rest of the painting, was not difficult. Nor was it more difficult to pronounce that the manner was not Vandyck's. The portrait itself had

[1] Anecdotes, vol. ii., p. 261. In the original Strawberry-hill edition, the painter's monogram ^{G}H is cut in wood, in order to present a facsimile; from which it would seem that Walpole, or rather Vertue, had carefully inspected the portrait.

long fallen into abeyance, and I am not aware of any engraving which represents it; although in one or two of the rude old prints of Montrose there is just sufficient resemblance to suggest an idea that this might be their prototype. It is in fine preservation, particularly the head and features, which time has only mellowed so truthfully that copyists may despair. The transparent colouring of the face and back-ground, with its tender glazing, would stand no touch of cleaning, which perhaps has been rashly bestowed at some period upon parts of the figure. The simplicity, dignity, and solemnity of the composition, is that which strikes at the first glance. Genius and originality are stamped upon the old oak board. The truth of ancient Flemish art comes over the spectator like a spell; and the breathing expression, life-like colouring, and time-honoured tone of the countenance, grow upon him like flesh and blood. The figure, which is life-size, and three-quarters length, stands erect, not quite fronting the spectator, but with the right shoulder partially presented, and the face nearly in the same plane with the figure. It is completely cased in *black armour*, with the exception of the head, which is not even crowned with the small calotte cap that appears in the portrait at Buchanan. The brow is well exposed; and the long dark auburn locks, equally parted above it, flow in gracefnl waves to the shoulders. The right hand, slightly elevated and thrown across the person, grasps a red baton; while the left, projected as far as the wrist beyond the pommel of his sword, is resting upon the open vizor of his helmet, placed in front upon a bank or shelf of rock, and overshadowed with a voluminous plume of black ostrich feathers. If Walpole ever saw this portrait, it must have reminded him of his own Castle of Otranto. The accessories are extremely simple, and in the severest taste. The black helmet, and funereal plume, the blood-red baton, the brighter but somewhat lurid light in the far horizon, appearing on either side of the figure and finely relieving it, the precipitous rock in front, sparingly fringed with wild foliage, and harmonizing with a few warm-tinted clouds scattered in a grey sky, are all in keeping with the figure. Nothing could excel the stern vigour of the attitude, the simple grace and intelligence of the head, the animation of the well-opened powerful grey eyes, and the peculiar but characteristic firmness of the compressed lips, expressive at once of sadness and determination.

But who painted it? Having deprived this portrait also of the name of Vandyck, it was fortunate that we were able to substitute the true one, by something better than a theory. After several close inspections, we detected at the lower corner of the panel, and in deep shadow under

the helmet, this name and date, all but obliterated,—"G Honthorst. 1649;" the date being painted immediately under the autograph. The monogram formed by the initial letters precisely resembles the facsimile mentioned before as having been made for the early edition of Walpole's Anecdotes. That it is an original portrait of Montrose by that great master, painted at the Hague in the year 1649, cannot now be questioned. Neither can it reasonably be doubted that the black armour and plume indicate mourning for Charles the First, who suffered at the beginning of that year. It must have been painted immediately after the sad event; and it is not very likely that the Queen of Bohemia had there received *at the same time*, any other portrait of the hero than this one, the name and date on which prove it to have been *then and there* painted by the hand of her own favourite artist.

Whatever Portraits of Montrose may hereafter come to light, that now described, and which has hitherto been so unaccountably overlooked, cannot fail to be the most important. It is coincident with the period when, his great though ill-fated *actions* performed, his *passions* were about to commence, and his destiny to be fulfilled. The fearful vow he uttered, after having been struck senseless to the ground by the intelligence of the murder of his Sovereign, and his metrical version of it,—"Great, Good, and Just,"—were notorious at the Hague. And then it was, that *Gherardo dalle Notte*, combining the truthful simplicity of his native school, and his master Bloemart, with something of the gloomy grandeur of Caravaggio whose style he affected, produced this noble portrait for his royal benefactress "the Queen of Hearts."

Of the portrait last described,—the most interesting, and the most complete, of all the portraits of Montrose hitherto authenticated,—we have been unable to discover any engraving prior to that, which, under the liberal auspices of the Maitland Club, forms the frontispiece to the second volume of "Memorials of Montrose," issued in 1850. An extension of the same liberality has bestowed the plate upon the present biography; which of necessity has been reduced as regards the background, in order to accommodate it to an octavo page. None of the figure, however, as painted by Honthorst, has been sacrificed in consequence. It is a most faithful, and feeling, representative of the original portrait, and worthy of the name of *Faed* attached to it.

I am aware that the above does not exhaust the list of alleged portraits of Montrose, or even of such as have been attributed to the hand

of Vandyke. But I have not the means at present of authenticating any other.[1] Were it possible that the greatest of portrait painters could have painted Montrose as a cavalier,—and no theme, after Charles the First, could have been more congenial to his pencil,—the hope of such a work might well excite research. We have given our reasons for considering it hopeless. As it is, the four unquestionable originals described above leave little to look for, and must ever hold their place, especially being now (for the first time) recorded by accurate engravings. These four portraits, independently of being the works of the greatest portrait-painters of the day, in Holland, England, and Scotland, happen, each of them, to mark a separate epoch of the hero's life; namely, his early marriage in 1629; his transition state from the Covenant to the Throne, in 1640; his commission as Lieutenant-General of Scotland, and his Marquisate from Charles the First in 1644; and his commission as Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, and Plenipotentiary to the Northern States, from Charles the Second, immediately after the murder of his father in 1649.

ENGRAVINGS OF MONTROSE.

Of the host of previous engravings of Montrose existing in every form, size, and style of art, there is not one which has the slightest pretension to compete, as an accurate representation of any original portrait, or as a trustworthy effigies of Montrose himself, with the four which we have now presented to the public. We may say, after an examination of all the known engravings so extensive and careful as to entitle us to do so, that now, for the first time after the lapse of two centuries from his death, have the portraits by any of the great contemporary limners of him, been carefully or faithfully engraved. Through the kindness of a valued, and, let us add, a very liberal friend, who has spared neither pains nor expense in promoting our researches in that matter,[2] we possess twenty-seven engravings of Montrose from different plates. Of these but one is of any account as a work of art; and of the rest, regarded as specimens of engraving, though some of them be valued by collectors on account of their rarity, there is not one that rises much above the level of a sixpenny print, or inspires more confidence. The many editions of Wishart's Commentaries, hastily translated, and rudely got up, had sent abroad various paltry

[1] There is an old, and not a very faithful *copy*, of Honthorst's signed portrait of Montrose, in the Marquis of Breadalbane's rooms in Holyrood House. It was purchased at Murray of Broughton's sale, for £100, as an original, and attributed to Vandyke.

[2] Mr Stirling of Keir.

prints as frontispieces, in which all individuality disappears, and nothing is left but the rudest type of a warrior. Yet such of these as would seem to be contemporary with the subject, have for the most part been filched from the volumes to which they originally belonged, and have entered the portfolios of collectors, as rare contemporary engravings, and therefore to be relied upon as *likenesses*. The experience of an age infinitely advanced in the luxuries of book-making, and whose cheapest and most ephemeral productions can boast a far higher class of art than the prints in question belong to, might teach us how fallacious are even *contemporary* engravings of heroes and statesmen, when appended to publications of no very expensive character. These old stray prints, manifestly not pretending to represent any of the four original portraits which we have now authenticated, but which possibly may have been rudely and inaccurately derived from others we have not seen, are altogether worthless as a record of the personal appearance of Montrose. Only two of these contemporary prints are at all worthy of special notice. One by *Matham*, a Flemish engraver in the vicinity of the Hague, presents rather an interesting portrait as regards expression, but stiff and unmeaning in the composition. Although a respectable and firm line engraving, this has no pretensions to fine workmanship, and there is an obvious disregard of individuality, and correct representation of peculiar outlines in delineating the features. This appears to have been engraved as the frontispiece to the first translation of Wishart's Commentaries, published at the Hague in an octavo form, 1647. An impression from the original plate (for it has been repeatedly re-engraved, and always deteriorating) is extremely rare; and it is yet more rarely found "growing" in its original volume. It approximates more nearly to the portrait of Montrose by Honthorst than to any others we have seen. The other contemporary print worthy of notice, is also of great rarity in its original form, and has been attributed to *Faithorn*. But he has not put his name to the plate, and we can discover no authority for the assertion. We doubt if Faithorn, who was a great engraver, to be known by peculiar characteristics, particularly that individuality of expression and feature which marks the truth of a portrait, as also great vigour, combined with softness, and what stands for colour in engraving, we doubt if he would have owned this very soft impeachment. He had *three manners*, indeed, the third of course very inferior to the first, and collectors classify his engravings accordingly. But the print in question, we think, would tend to assign to him a fourth, or weaker manner still.

It presents, however, a gentle agreeable aspect of Montrose, approximating (although of maturer age, and in armour as usual) to the youthful portrait by Jameson, but with all the peculiar characteristics of his features indicated rather than developed. There has been no attention paid to character, or to firmness and precision in tracing the outlines. This print has been repeatedly reproduced, and always for the worse. All the rest,—that, for instance, published in "*Montrose Redivivus*," 1652, or in those rudely decorated volumes, "Heath's Chronicles," "English Worthies," &c.,—may, in their isolated and most pretensious form, be consigned, without a sigh, to the tomb of all such Capulets, the collector's portfolio.

This leads us to the more modern and hopeful era of *Vertue* and *Houbraken*; a hope most miserably disappointed, at least as regards our present subject.

Walpole tells us, that Vertue having accomplished twelve heads of poets, which appeared in 1730, his "next considerable production was the heads of Charles I. and the loyal sufferers in his cause." But the scale was too small, and the execution proportionably feeble. To give importance to the design, however, these heads were engraved in pairs, at the top of a folio page, with historical characters, extracted from Clarendon, engraved beneath, and occupying the most part of the page; the whole within a border, the design and execution of which must have cost the engraver considerable trouble. One cannot appreciate such frippery round "Illustrious Heads." It is the head we want, especially when thereby hangs a tale. The head of Montrose, which could hardly be absent from such a collection, Vertue authenticates by this careless inscription under it,—"This original at the Duke of Montrose." Undoubtedly he means the portrait still at Buchanan. But the important accessories have been omitted, and the characteristic expression lost. So little careful has Vertue been to preserve individuality, that the portrait of Lord Derby, with whom Montrose is coupled, might easily pass for the same head in a different attitude. The order of the Garter he has placed over the armour, an ornament of course not derived from the original. It is observable, that while Vertue has attached the impress of Vandyck to the portrait of Derby, he has not ventured to name any author for the companion head of Montrose.

England's Tintoret had set no easy task for the engravers. The lifelike glowing tints, by means of which he has so admirably preserved the youth of his subject, are beyond the handmaid art. The blood will not circulate under the burine, as it does under the brush, especially such a brush as Dobson's. Montrose was of a fleshy and florid coun-

tenance. This artist has chosen to present a full front view of his heroic subject; an ungraceful phase that could only have been selected by such a master, because of the attractive display of radiant expression, and youthful colour. In the hands of the engraver, the animation fades into a simper, and the lustihood of exuberant youth is lost in elderly obesity. The head of Montrose in the hand of Vertue (a phrase sanctioned by his friend Walpole), becomes a stout gentleman advanced in life, the fat of whose countenance is melting into fatuity. Houbraken engraving subsequently, or rather professing to engrave, from the same original, used his tools with greater vigour, and on a larger scale. Here, indeed, we find both force and expression, but not the expression of the original. Working in Holland from a careless sketch, and unconscious of the masterly performance which he professes to record, that great engraver twaddled about Vandyck, and produced something like a Dutchman reversed.

This last has done all the mischief. It occurs in the splendid work, entitled, "The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain." Houbraken the bold, has given us for Montrose, the chuckle-head and iron-bound shoulders of the bluffest hero in Holland, confined within an oval frame, resting on pilasters, and gorgeously decorated, all the heroic antecedents typified by a battle-piece in a tablet beneath. This ingenious composition, and it must be confessed masterly engraving, he entitled,—"James Graham, Marquis of Montrose. Ant. Van Dyck pinx. J. Houbraken sculps. Amst. 1740; in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Montrose." Minerva, and the helmet, have been turned out of the composition as if *de trop;* and all, save proportion, sacrificed to the engraver's own fat and florid taste.

If Houbraken's famous head of Montrose were a faithful representation of the portrait at Buchanan House, and that portrait by the hand of Vandyck, farewell to all sentiment on the subject of the troubadour warrior's personal appearance. That stout old gentleman, who now-a-days would be voted beyond the age for Crimean glory, wheezing under a load of armour, his mass of crushed nose and blubber lips suggesting rather an Esquimaux genealogy than the lineaments of the Graham, might pass for some Van Tromp of the Ocean, but never for the youthful soldier, who displayed "a singular grace in riding," and whose personal activity was so essential to the many physical feats he is known to have performed.

Of this celebrated engraving we have before us at this moment an excellent impression, in the midst of no less than nine repetitions, in various reduced forms, engraved from time to time for historical and

biographical publications occurring throughout the course of a century. Houbraken shows like a Triton among these ridiculous minnows. His grossness has received ample justice in all of them; but the slight degree of resemblance to the original which he had retained, expires altogether under the hands of most of his trumpery followers. Moreover, these endless contortions which have served to propagate so erroneous an idea of the illustrious subject, while they seem to have been all derived from the Dutch prototype, exhibit, when placed in juxta-position, a most ludicrous variety of vulgar feature and coarse expression. Some of them actually resemble frogs which had swollen to bursting in trying to look like Montrose.

To render this confusion worse confounded, a limner of the last century, of the name of John Alexander, was in the habit of reproducing *original* portraits of Montrose in oil, from no other materials than this same everlasting caricature from Amsterdam. In the galleries of more than one noble house in Scotland, where loyalty must have outstripped taste, may yet be discovered a swarthy abomination professing to be the great Marquis, but in reality one of these ambitious and terrible Alexandrians, over which the puzzled loyalist ponders with a sigh, and the free covenanter, of easy credulity in such a case, would chuckle with unfeigned delight. And here we cannot forbear from quoting an admirable passage occurring in Lord Napier's review of our "Memorials of Montrose:"—

"In prosecuting such researches in Scotland, the amateur is often distracted by the multiplicity of pretended originals. This *opulence of imposture*, is the creation of several painters in the last century, who wandered, with their vagrant and venal easels, from house to house. The younger Medina, and John Alexander, are remembered as the most fertile authors of such fabrications. Not contented with perverting the likeness of *the living*, it was their delight to supply the *hiatus* of a careless or obliterated ancestor, and to adorn the wall with the effigy of some famous personage who represented the hereditary affections of the family. The same portfolio contained the traditionary types of the rival deities of the Scottish Pantheon. The same flexible pencil produced, in obedience to the preference of its patron, the martial presence of the 'great Montrose;' the solemn features of the 'learned Merchiston;' the seductive lineaments of 'Mary;' or the morose and edifying visages of 'godly Knox,' and 'Maister George Buchanan.' In the impartial multiplication of these pictorial *Shibboleths*, it is apparent that the accommodating artist looked not beyond the lucre of gain, unless, indeed, we may be permitted to trace the malicious strokes

of a Jacobite brush, in the lamentable countenances of the 'Covenant and the Kirk.'" [1]

If this last be true, the Kirk has been amply revenged, in these vicious reproductions of the Houbraken horror. That distinguished artist, says Walpole, "living in Holland, ignorant of our history, uninquisitive into the authenticity of what was transmitted to him, engraved whatever was sent." Neither did Mr Lodge, in our times, sufficiently cultivate his own opportunity of redeeming that unfortunate blunder. Shrinking from its gross obesity, he had obtained a too hasty sketch from the original, for his "Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain," and has erred on the other side, by falling into feebleness. That characteristic feature, the expressive mouth, has been sketched and etched into conventional commonplace: while the proportions of the composition have been audaciously restored at the expense of truth, without the excuse of having saved the martial and symbolical accessories.

It is rarely, indeed, that sufficient attention is paid, by the bookseller's engraver at least, to scrupulous accuracy in the engraving of portraits. How often are we made to look at Vandyck, or his great contemporaries and successors, through the imperfect medium of engravings derived from rapid sketches of the original. And even when the original itself is at hand, how often are minute traits slurred over by the best engravers, so as to impart a totally different expression. We have done what we could, by frequent superintendence, to remedy this, as regards the portraits which illustrate the present biography. But after all, the most faithful and best executed engraving can aspire to no more than to present a cold and colourless shadow of a great original.

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF MONTROSE IN WRITING.

We have thus rapidly and imperfectly, but we trust impartially, recorded what the *brush* and the *burine* have done to assist, or to confound, our ideas of the personal appearance of the great Montrose. To these, however, must be added more than one graphic effort of the contemporary *pen;* which may be applied, indeed, as no uncertain test of what is faithful, or the reverse, in the productions of the other two mediums of representation.

The following portrait is from the pen of Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, a scion of Cluny, whose "Britain's Distemper" has been frequently

[1] See before, p. 711, and *note*.

quoted in this biography. He was a close observer, a faithful chronicler, and personally acquainted with Montrose, whom he thus describes :—

" It cannot be denied but he was an accomplished gentleman, of many excellent parts: A body not tall; but comely, and well composed in all his lineaments: his complexion *merely*[1] white, with flaxen hair: of a stayed, grave, and solid look; and yet his eyes sparkling and full of life: of speech slow, but witty and full of sense: a presence *graitfull* (graceful?), courtly, and so winning upon the beholder, as it seemed to claim reverence without suing for it: for he was so affable, so courteous, so benign, as seemed verily to scorn ostentation and the keeping of state; and therefore he quickly made a conquest of the hearts of all his followers, so as when he list he could have led them in a chain to have followed him with cheerfulness in all his enterprizes."

Not less trustworthy, is the life-like sketch by his faithful and devoted follower Saintserf, which occurs in his record as secretary to the grand pageant of the " True Funerals " of Montrose, in 1661 :—

" But to pass much which might be said of the fame of his progenitors, I shall acquaint you with both what I know myself,—*having followed him several years in his expeditions*,—and what I have learned from others of good name and credit.

" He was of a middle stature, and most exquisitely proportioned limbs; his hair of a *light chesnut;* his complexion betwixt pale and ruddy; his eye most penetrating, though inclining to gray; his nose rather acquiline than otherwise; as he was strong of body and limbs, so was he most agile, which made him excel most others in those exercises where these two are required: In riding the great horse, and making use of his arms, he came short of none: I never heard much of his delight in dancing, though his countenance, and other his bodily endowments were equally fitting the Court as the Camp."

Another description of the person of Montrose, equally graphic and elaborate, appeared soon after his death, in the continuation of Wishart's history; published in 1652, under the title of " *Montrose Redivivus :*"—

" Indeed we have not had in this latter age a man of more eminent

[1] So in the original (p. 76), as printed for the Spalding Club, 1844. The words, as printed, are " *meerly whitee ;*" which at first suggested a mis-reading for *nearly white.* In Shakspear, however, the word *merely*, signifying *entirely*, or *absolutely*, frequently occurs ; and probably the above signifies a complexion altogether fair. Patrick Gordon's description makes him still fairer than he is represented in portraits, or in other descriptions.

parts either of body or of mind. He was a man not very tall, nor much exceeding a middle stature; but of exceeding strong composition of body, and incredible force, with excellent proportion and feature; *dark brown* hair; sanguine complexion; a swift and piercing gray eye; with a high nose, somewhat like the ancient sign of the Persian King's magnanimity: He was of most resolute and undaunted spirit, which began to appear in him, to the wonder and expectation of all men, even in his childhood: He was a man of a very princely carriage, and excellent address, which made him for the most part be used by all Princes with extraordinary familiarity: A complete horseman, and had a singular grace in riding."[1]

PORTRAIT OF ARCHIBALD FIRST LORD NAPIER, BY JAMESON, IN POSSESSION OF THE LORD NAPIER. (*Page* 108).

As the first Lord Napier was highly distinguished, both as a courtier and a statesman, in the reign of James VI. (whom he served for seventeen years in the Bedchamber), and also in the reign of Charles I. (who selected him as the first Scotsman whom he honoured with elevation to the Peerage), it was not likely that the omission should have occurred of no portrait of him having been taken by the Vandyck of Scotland. Accordingly two portraits of this Lord Napier by Jameson, are yet preserved; the one, which has been admirably engraved for this biography by Mr Banks, being that possessed by the family; and the other, that found among the fine collection of portraits by Jameson, which decorate the baronial halls of Taymouth. This last, which we have only seen as a fixture forming a pannel above a lofty door, has every appearance of originality, aud although obviously representing the same individual, does not appear to be a duplicate of that possessed by Lord Napier. Why it is found at Taymouth, is accounted for by the fact, that Alexander Napier, sixth of Merchiston, who fell at Pinkie in 1547, was married to Anabella Campbell, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. Both her husband's father (Alexander fifth of Merchiston), and her own father, Sir Duncan, died at Flodden. Through this marriage, the first Lord Napier was great-great grandson of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, the owner of ancient Balloch,

[1] See before, p. 92, *note*, where the same character is given, slightly varied in the phraseology, having been there quoted from its adoption in Ruddiman's edition of Wishart, published in 1756. In the same note, "*Montrose Redivivus*" is erroneously dated 1661, instead of 1652. The additions to Wishart in this last, including the above character, were probably also written by Saintserf, Dr Wishart being at that time in exile.

now called Taymouth. One of his successors, Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, was, says Walpole, "the chief and earliest patron of Jameson, who had attended that gentleman on his travels." Hence this artist came to paint a large genealogical tree of the family of Glenorchy, and also portraits of many distinguished personages who could claim a medal among its branches.

Both of the portraits mentioned above are only head size, as here engraved. But that possessed by the present Lord Napier has not been well preserved, and presents much of the appearance of having been cut down from a larger size. The healing of wounds in an ancient portrait was not so well understood in those days as now.

PORTRAIT OF ARCHIBALD SECOND LORD NAPIER, BY JAMESON, IN POSSESSION OF THE LORD NAPIER. (*Page* 667.)

This interesting portrait, of a very interesting personage, has, like that of his father, suffered severely between gallery and garret, in the hands of heedless though not headless generations. Fortunately the features, complexion, and costume of both have been so far preserved, as to enable the engraver to accomplish accurate representations of the original. But in both of these instances, Jameson's tender back-grounds, never made for the "Troubles," either of nation or nursery, have nearly vanished, so as to baffle all attempts at discovering date or signature. Yet the hand of Jameson may be detected even under the ribs of death, and these melancholy remains have considerable life in them still. Moreover, the portrait of the first Lord Napier is mentioned in the catalogue of Jameson's works; and that of the second Lord is obviously from the same pallet. The inscription under the engraving is a fac-simile of that memorable sentence occurring in the exiled nobleman's very affecting letter to his wife—"It was ever said, that Montrose and his nephew were like the Pope and the Church, who would be inseparable." They were necessarily separated, however, in the service of Charles II., very shortly before the last descent of Montrose upon Scotland. Otherwise, even in death, they would not have been divided. In company with his cousin the second Marquis of Montrose, he attempted a rising in Scotland, during the Usurpation, under the leadership of Middleton, who was second in command to David Leslie at Philiphaugh. After the failure of that ill managed attempt, he returned to Holland, where he died shortly before the Restoration, when about thirty-six years of age.

PORTRAIT OF SIR GEORGE STIRLING OF KEIR, BY JAMESON, IN POSSESSION OF WILLIAM STIRLING, ESQ. OF KEIR, M.P. (*Page* 381.)

This head-size portrait is in very good preservation, and, as well as the companion portrait, Lady Stirling, presents a good specimen of the costume of well-conditioned people in Scotland of that period. It is signed, in the lower corner next the left arm, "Jameson;" and dated, in the upper and opposite corner above the head, "*Anno* 1637, *Ætatis* 22." The first year of "The Troubles." Most probably both of these, which originally occupied one frame, with a slip between, were marriage portraits, and painted in their wedding garb. Jameson has affixed his signature to each of them, but has only dated the husband's. The deeds of the marriage-settlement are preserved in the Napier charter-chest, and bear date 2d January 1637, the same year as the date on Sir George's portrait. That laird of Keir thus became the nephew of Montrose by marriage. He was beloved and respected by our hero, and suffered persecution along with him, although he appears never to have served in arms. Montrose, in corresponding with him, used to address him as "Mon Frere;" a style which, through the mistake of a transcriber, we had inadvertently printed "Honble Sir," in the "Memorials of Montrose."

Sir George Stirling was twice married. Young as he was in the year 1637, Margaret Napier was his second wife. There is a melancholy story attached to Sir George in early life. The following affecting inscription, of date four years earlier than his second marriage in 1637, when he was but twenty-two years of age, is preserved in "Monteith's Theater of Mortality," p. 54:—

"Here lyeth Dame Margaret Ross, daughter to James Lord Ross and Dame Margaret Scot (daughter to Walter Lord Buccleugh, and sister to Walter Scot Earl of Buccleugh). She was married to Sir George Sterline of Keir, Knight, and chief of his name; and, having lived a pattern and paragon, for piety, and *debonaritie* beyond her sex and age, when she had accomplished seventeen years, she was called from this transitory life to that eternal, 10th March 1633. She left behind her only one daughter, Margaret; who, in her pure innocency, soon followed her mother, the 11th day of May thereafter, when she had been twelve months showen to this world, and here lyeth near unto her interred.

"*Dominus Georgius Sterline, de Keir, Eques auratus, familiæ princeps, conjugi dulcissimæ poni curavit,* M.DC.XXXIII."

Thus heavily had the hand of God visited this chief of "Ancient Keir," when he was but eighteen years of age. The above date is immediately prior to the advent of Charles the First to his Coronation in Scotland, and to Montrose's departure upon his travels abroad three years after his own boyish marriage.

PORTRAIT OF THE HONOURABLE MARGARET NAPIER, LADY STIRLING OF KEIR, BY JAMESON, IN POSSESSION OF WILLIAM STIRLING OF KEIR, ESQ., M.P. (*Page* 511.)

This is the companion portrait to the one just mentioned, and in former days used to be framed along with it, as arms matrimonial are sometimes impaled in the same shield. We demur to the propriety of separating such ancient couples, for the sake of separate modern establishments. The dress of this portrait is very perfect, and displays the delicate and accurate penciling of Jameson. But the fair complexion, and the details and texture of the golden hair, have suffered much; and probably more from modern attention than ancient neglect. The hair is dressed, doubtless after the fashion of the day, in a very unbecoming manner. But the details were difficult to make out; and the engraver's laudable attempt to re-unite the broken surface, has imparted a coarseness of texture, and stiffness of form, the appearance of which would probably have shocked the fair loyalist herself even more than her summons before the *Vehm Gericht* of Scotland. We doubt if her redundant tresses,—a lock of which probably composed the "well known token" she sent to Montrose at the risk of her life,—did in reality so very nearly resemble one of those ingenious varieties of judicial wigs which may be observed on the Supreme Bench of Scotland in the present day. The signature under the engraving is a fac-simile from the original attached to that loyal and persecuted lady's declaration, taken from her by the inquisitorial committee, in 1645, consisting of Lord Burleigh; Sir James Stewart of Coltness, Provost of Edinburgh; and Sir John Hope of Craighall, President of the Session. Lanerick, too, the second Duke of Hamilton, who was only redeemed by his mortal wounds at the battle of Worcester, did, for a time, and from miserable pique at just displeasure, adhere so very closely to covenanting pitch, as to preside at some of the *Committees* that persecuted this noble lady.

PORTRAIT OF ARGYLE.

To these notices of the portraits of Montrose, and some of the best beloved of his family circle, we have only to add all that we can tell of that of his arch-enemy Argyle, of which we have been enabled to present our readers with a woodcut. It is no fault of ours that it does not belie that memorable character which, Clarendon assures us, Argyle's own father thus certified to Charles the First:—

"Sir, I must know this young man better than you can do. You have brought me low, that you may raise him; which I doubt you will live to repent; for he is a man of craft, subtilty and falsehood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do you mischief, he will be sure to do it."

The portrait itself belonged to the late Charles Kirkpatrick Sharp of Hoddam. That accomplished historical antiquary, and amateur artist, considered it an original. When his valuable collection became dispersed at his death, the portrait was acquired by Mr William Fraser of the Register House, to whose researches into the domestic histories of Scotland, this biography has been indebted on more occasions than one. It bears every mark of being contemporary with the subject. It has been re-lined many years ago; and the surface of the *empasto* is scoured, broken, and rudely patched. Nevertheless, all the features, with the very characteristic expression, are quite entire. The style of the portrait (head size), what remains of the original flesh colour, and the *red priming*, are such as characterise portraits of a like kind by Jameson. Our own opinion is, that it will prove to be a duplicate, or contemporary copy, of that portrait in possession of the Duke of Argyle which Lodge has engraved as the Marquis's weaker and less vicious son. We do not know how this mistake has happened; but a mistake we have little hesitation in pronouncing it to be. The same has been more than once engraved, and with more severity of truth than in the courtly gallery of Lodge, as the grim Marquis himself. See frontispiece to Buchanan's History of Scotland, by Aikman, 1848. Lodge seems to have been playing at hand-ball with these loose heads. We have from him, as the *Marquis* of Argyle, one of the finest heads in his collection, with moustache and imperial that Charles the First might have envied; probably the father of the Marquis.

II.

POEMS BY MONTROSE.

I.—HIS METRICAL VOW.

That Montrose amused himself with composing trifles in verse, is not to be doubted. We are expressly told so by his faithful chaplain Dr Wishart. The statement occurs in the second part of his famous *Commentarius*, written in the same elegant latinity as the first, soon after the death of Montrose, but only given to the world through a feeble and inaccurate translation, first printed in 1720. The accomplished divine most powerfully describes the effect upon his heroic patron, of the sudden announcement that Charles the First had been murdered in England by a flagitious faction of his own subjects, in the face of a subjugated, paralyzed, and horror-stricken people. He tells us, that "not grief merely, but a passionate burst of lamentation, not simply anger, but the very phrenzy of indignation, seized him on the instant; so that, ere long he fell down in the midst of those around him, his limbs in a state of rigidity, and utterly deprived of animation and consciousness." It was the effect of a fit. The anecdote is important to his biography. It affords the best possible proof of the intense sincerity, and disinterestedness, of his exertions to save the King and the Monarchy. His own conscience was clear on the subject; yet the announcement of that climax of iniquity, which Argyle had done so much to promote, very nearly killed Montrose on the spot. Had Argyle a stronger mind? Had he a purer conscience? Is there any reason to disbelieve that the announcement to him neither cost him a tear, nor embittered the cup of that day's dinner. Nor does this story of the effect upon Montrose rest on doubtful evidence. "I myself," says Wishart, "who describes this scene, happened to be present with other bystanders at the time,"—(*In circumstantibus forte eram et ego qui hæc describo*). When the prostrate nobleman was restored to consciousness, and after a convulsive sigh, these expressions burst from his labouring bosom,—"Let me die, let me die, with the best of Kings; for the God of life and death is my witness, that joyless and bitter will life on earth be to me now." An earnest appeal from his chaplain, of the kind best suited to rally his despairing spirit, wherein he dwelt upon the necessity of all good men and true devoting their lives to bring the parricides to justice, and the son to his father's throne, had the desired effect, and

gave rise to Montrose's memorable vow. Raising himself from the ground, with a frame less agitated, and more composure in his countenance, he gave ear to that eloquent and energetic counsel. Wishart, who so well applied the caustic to his spirits, tells us, that the suggestion of an avenging duty, especially, sank deep into his heart, and saved it from suffocation. "Yes," he then exclaimed, "the load of life shall be borne; but whatever remains of it for me, shall be devoted as an holy sacrifice, to avenge the martyr King, and to restore his son to his country and his kingdom; and this I swear before God, angels, and men!" Having uttered these words, he broke away from his attendants, and sought the inmost recesses of his most private apartments, where he shut himself up for three days *(triduum)*, admitting none to converse, or even to see him. It was on the third day, however, *(tertio demum die)* that he allowed his chaplain to enter his bedroom. And then it was, says Wishart, that "in his bedroom I chanced upon a small piece of paper (*cubiculum ingressus, in chartulam incidi*[1]) containing that awful vow, briefly but elegantly turned, in a stanza replete with the profound agitation of his soul: For that man of most accomplished genius, when he could snatch a moment from the heavy pressure of his fate, was wont to relax his mind with very happy efforts in verse."[2]

We thus learn that Montrose was a Knight of the Order of Troubadours. The vein ran so strong in him, that his mind was apt to give it out not merely in repose, but in the moments of most intense agitation. Another instance, is the occasion of his own death. Having interwoven his metrical vow, and the worthy chaplain's accomplished translation of it, with that chapter of his biography to which they belong (p. 693) we need not reprint them here. The verses have been criticised as *poetry*, according to the *political* feeling of the historian. The Historiographer Royal for Scotland, Mr Brodie, has pronounced them to be "poetry no less *execrable* than his actions had been as a member of society." Let him fall down in a fit, upon a like occasion, and revive and write better. Malcolm Laing, whose history of Scotland is mediocrity upon stilts, characterises them as a "strain of bombast." Voltaire, struck with that spark of poesy from the opaque bosom of the

[1] *In chartulam incidi*, might perhaps be more aptly translated, *pounced* upon a small piece of paper; for doubtless the worthy chaplain made prize of it at once, and proceeded forthwith to translate it into Latin verse. The precious scrap is not known to exist. It would sell well at Puttick and Simpson's.

[2] "Amœnissimi enim ingenii vir, quoties a gravioribus curis vocatio dabatur, animum poetica felicissimè relaxabat." That Montrose was a man of accomplished genius, we have, in this biography, otherwise abundantly proved.

Scottish Troubles, declares them to be "*assez beaux vers.*" But the lines are not amenable to ordinary criticism. They have made for themselves a niche as lasting as the History of Scotland. They have become as fixed in men's minds as the death of Charles. To appreciate them accurately, their precise origin, so well told by Wishart, must be known and feelingly pondered.[1] It is nonsense to talk of *bombast* in reference to lines written in the very agony of that great shock, and which came from the hero's heart like a gush of blood. But neither are they without merit as a composition. The opening burst is a spark of the fire of true genius. The self-devoted names not the name of the King. But the three first words he utters, when the tormentor had gone out of him, suffice to tell, by the attributes he assigns him, whom he means. Wishart could not grapple with that line. There is great facility and elegance in the turn,—

"Carole! si possem lacrymis æquare dolorem."

Yet, "Oh Charles!" is a poor substitute for Montrose's passion,

"Great, Good, and Just."

II.—HIS METRICAL PRAYER.

The proper *pendant* to Montrose's metrical vow, is his metrical prayer. There is a striking coincidence between their composition. He told the Parliament, about to pronounce sentence, that if they would not admit his truthful and just defence, or listen to his eloquent caution against that outrage upon humanity, he would enter his appeal from them to Him who sat on high, and whose judgments were ever just. And no sooner was he removed from the presence of that bloody tribunal, and vouchsafed a moment's retirement, than he embodied that appeal in a metrical *prayer*, of the same number of lines that compose

[1] When these lines were printed at the conclusion of "The complete History" of Montrose's wars, published in 1660, there was added, "written with the point of his sword." Thus, with materials at hand for the truth, is even contemporary history apt to run into fable. And Malcolm Laing adopts that nonsense, although, in the Wodrow Collection of MS., which he was by way of searching, there was Dr Wishart's detailed and rational history of the composition of those verses. The original autograph of the lines on the death of the King, was supposed to be in the Strawberry-hill collection, written upon the title-page of an older pamphlet having no connection with the subject. This was purchased by the late Dr Smith, Secretary to the Maitland Club; and by him kindly and most liberally presented to the author of these pages; who at a glance was constrained to pronounce that it was not the handwriting of Montrose. Unquestionably, however, the hand is contemporary; and the verses are signed "Montrose." But the writing is much too small for his, and displays none of its peculiar characteristics.

his *vow*. Malcolm Laing pronounces these also to be a "strain of bombast." This puerile fiat he places against the rational record of David Hume, who had said, in reference to the hero's appeal to Heaven, when told how his limbs were to be disposed of,—"This sentiment, that very evening, while in prison, he threw into verse. The poem remains as a signal monument of his heroic spirit, and no despicable proof of his poetical genius." With an accuracy of judgment in which Laing was deficient, Hume here also casts aside as nonsense that which our Whig Tacitus adopts for history; namely, that the "lines were written by Montrose with a diamond on his prison window the night before his execution." When Montrose was conducted to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh three days before his last, had he *diamonds* about him? When permitted to deck himself for the sacrifice, was a diamond ring handed to him? Did Warriston, or some of those who worried him in prison, lend him a diamond, and wait until he had *engraved*, in that large hand of his, *eight lines* of poetry upon glass? If there was a glass window in his cell at all, or within reach, it may well be doubted whether there was any surface of glass sufficient to have enabled Montrose to perform such a feat of art in his dying moments.

But that Montrose wrote those lines after his sentence, has never been doubted; nor is there any reason to do so. They must have emanated from the same genius that conceived the lines upon Charles the First, which we have proved to have been written by Montrose. There is a coincidence worthy of notice between those upon his own death and what were written by Sir Walter Raleigh when about to submit himself to a judicial murder no less indefensible, though not so atrocious in all the particulars. We shall place them side by side:—

Sir Walter Raleigh.	*Montrose.*
Even such is Time; who takes in trust	*Let them* bestow on every airth a limb,
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,	Then open all my veins, that I may swim
And pays us but with earth and dust;	To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake;
Who, in the dark and silent grave,	Then place my par-boil'd head upon a stake,
When we have wandered all our ways,	Scatter my ashes, strew them in the air;
Shuts up the story of our days:	Lord! since thou knowest where all these
But from that earth, that grave and dust,	atoms are,
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust.	*I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,*
	And confident thou'lt raise me with the just.

It is an eye witness, and an unfriendly one, Sir James Balfour, who records, that, as the sentence was read to him, "he lifted up his face, without any word speaking." Did his mind then revert to his happy College days, when his favourite volume was Sir Walter Raleigh's

History of the World, which says honest *dominie* Forrett, " my Lord himself conveyed to St Andrews, at his Lordship's first thither going." (p. 21.)

" ——————— Cœlumque
Aspicit, et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos."

III.—MONTROSE TO HIS MISTRESS.

But, excepting " Mistress Magdalene Carnegie," the wife of his boyhood, Montrose had no mistress. It were much easier to fasten a Moabitish aberration upon John Knox than upon Montrose. The vestige of any *liaison* of the kind is not to be traced. He had a natural brother, who was knighted, but he had no natural son. Had he been Petrarch to any Laura, his fame must have perpetuated her memory, and his enemies would have proclaimed and exaggerated the fact. Letters filched from his cabinet, and of which there arose a vague rumour of their being " flowered with Arcadian compliments," attributed to nameless ladies, and never afterwards published or heard of, prove how little of that kind there was to be proved. He himself wrote to the young heir of Charles the First, shortly before his accession,—" I never had passion on earth so strong, as that to do the King your father service." And so we find, that in the only composition of the kind ever attributed to him, there is more of loyalty than of love, more of a fallen monarch than a frail mistress. That eccentric ballad has obtained a celebrity as extended as his fame. Montrose to his Mistress!

" I'll make thee *famous* by my sword, and *glorious* by my pen."

But those obscure and stormy verses; that wild wail of sweet bells jangled out of tune; those tropes and figures of synods, committees, and commonwealths, drums, trumpets, banners, sieges and tempests,—so tumultuously heaped upon " the golden laws of love," and the plaintive notes of " the turtle chaste and true,"—indicate the *loyalty* of Montrose, or the love-making of a maniac.

This idea, mooted in our former Life of Montrose, elicited from Lord Mahon the following criticism :—" We are much surprised," he says, " how Mr Napier can think, or expect any reader *of taste* to think with him, that these *fine stanzas* are only a political allegory, and denote Montrose's ' love for his royal master, and his anxiety to save him from evil counsellors.' " It may be a question of *taste* whether a poet should address monarchy through a mistress, real or imaginary, and make love a stalking horse to loyalty. But whether a poet has done so, as appearing from his own strain, is *matter of fact.* The ballad speaks for

itself, and we shall let it speak. But surely the *elevation* of a sentiment cannot be offensive to taste. When Lovelace, that most melodious of "committed linnets," suddenly quits the theme of his "divine Althea," and ascends to

> "The mercy, sweetness, majesty,
> And glories of my King,"—

will "readers of taste" refuse to follow him? Is the conception of the character of Hamlet offensive to taste?

Moreover, Lord Mahon, in this criticism, has stumbled in his own walk of history. It was a habit of the Cavalier poets to interlace their bacchanalian, or erotic measures and moods, with signs of their devotion to the King and the Throne. Captain John Gwynne, being imprisoned for his loyalty, tells us:—

"Then in case my designs, before I had time to force my liberty, should fail me,—and to satisfy my friends why I had rather die than live and never serve my King, nor any of that royal race,—I expressed it as well as I could in a few lines I made in verse, upon my inseparable devotion to loyalty *I called mistress;* with my invective in a short character of Cromwell, and his never to be forgotten Long Parliament; who had hanged me for my loyalty, but for my honest keeper:—

"*Upon my inseparable devotion to Loyalty, I called Mistress.*

> "I am so fond a lover grown,
> That for my mistress' cause could die,
> Nor would enjoy my love alone,
> But wish her millions more than I.
>
> "I am devoted to her hand,
> A willing sacrifice would be,
> If she be pleased but to command,
> To die is easy unto me."[1]

Montrose is neither so explicit, nor so coherent in his object, though infinitely more poetical, than the blunt Cavalier. He sets up a puppet which he calls his "dear and only love," and immediately commences to pelt it with a storm of loyal imagery, till the pretended object of his affection is as much disfigured as a witch that has been ducked. He commences by calling her a "little world," and insists that "purest Monarchie" alone is to be established therein. The demon of democracy is not to plant his foot there; else, he says, he will "call a Synod

[1] Memoirs of Captain John Gwynne, p. 71; edited by Sir Walter Scott, 1822. See before, p. 727.

in his heart," and "never love thee more." He declares he will reign paramount and unrivalled, like Alexander; and then he hurls this fine burst at the head of his pilloried mistress, which really is not very germain to the matter of love;

> "He either fears his fate too much,
> Or his deserts are small,
> That dares not put it to the touch,
> To gain or lose it all."

But (and we recommend the fact to the particular attention of Lord Mahon) although this well-known verse has no very obvious application to a case of amatory persuasion, it has a direct reference to Montrose's views as to the best mode of sustaining the cause of Charles I., and the Monarchy. It is a valuable and curious identification of the authorship of this famous ballad, that we find the very same expressions, in prose, occurring in Montrose's correspondence with Prince Rupert. In the letter which he writes to the Prince on the 3d December 1648 (p. 680), he says: "At which time I hope to let your Highness see all is not yet gone, but that we may have a handsome pull for it, *and either win it, or be sure to lose it fairly.*" Again, in another letter to the Prince, dated 8th January 1649 (p. 683), he says: "I thought fit to direct back this bearer to receive your Highness's commands, and to impart unto you what is not so fit to be hazarded to paper; since this appears the *stroke for the party*, and probable conjuncture whose use, or misserving, should *either gain or lose the whole.*" The coincidence is irresistible. It stamps the ballad as Montrose's, and at the same time detects the real current of the feeling.

With regard to this ballad as a poem, surely we must come to the conclusion, that it is more than sufficient to entitle Montrose to a distinguished niche among the Cavalier poets of the reign of Charles I. It is somewhat prolix, and occasionally obscure. But, at the same time, every stanza has something of poetic fire, vigour, originality, and sweetness. The version here presented to the readers of his biography, is that which we collated for the "Memorials of Montrose," between the version in Watson's now rare collection, published in 1706–11, and an old sheet of miscellaneous poetry discovered by the learned Dr Irving, late of the Advocate's Library, and kindly communicated by him for that purpose. This last we have chiefly followed; being certainly a superior version to Watson's, both as regards the sequence of some of the stanzas, and a few varieties in the readings. The old broadside entitles the ballad as here printed, but does not assign it to any author.

AN EXCELLENT NEW BALLAD, TO THE TUNE OF
" I'll never love thee more."

The First Part.

1.

My dear and only love, I pray
That little world,—of THEE,—
Be governed by no other sway
Than purest Monarchy.
For if confusion have a part,
Which virtuous souls abhor,
I'll call a *Synod* in mine heart,
And never love thee more

2.

As Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone;
My thoughts did evermore disdain
A rival on my throne:
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all.

3.

But I will reign, and govern still,
And always give the law,
And have *each subject at my will*,
And all to stand in awe;
But 'gainst my batteries if I find
Thou kick, or vex me sore,
As that thou set me up a blind,
I'll never love thee more.

4.

And in the Empire of thine heart,
Where I should solely be,
If others do pretend a part,
Or dare to vie with me,

Or if *Committees* thou erect,
And go on such a score,
I'll laugh and sing at thy neglect,
And never love thee more.

5.

But if thou wilt prove faithful then,
And constant of thy word,
I'll make thee *glorious* by my pen,
And *famous* by my sword;
I'll serve thee in such noble ways
Was never heard before,
I'll crown, and deck thee all, with bays,
And love thee more and more.[1]

The Second Part.

1.

My dear and only love, take heed,
How thou thyself dispose;
Let not all longing lovers feed
Upon such looks as those;

[1] It is very singular that this beautifully quaint and original stanza should have suffered severely in the hands of the greatest ballad poet of his country and his age. They are quoted as "Montrose's lines" at the head of the fifteenth chapter of a Legend of Montrose, in this form,—

"But if no faithless action stain
Thy true and constant word,
I'll make thee *famous* by my pen,
And *glorious* by my sword.
I'll serve thee in such noble ways
As ne'er were known before;
I'll deck and crown *thy head* with bays,
And love thee more and more."

This must have been a hasty transcript from memory, or more probably from the bad version which we find in Ritson's Scottish Songs, 1794. No older version of the ballad, that we have seen, gives it so. The transposition of the respective attributes of the *pen* and the *sword*, is not happy. It throws the knightly minstrel's idea into confusion, and dims the gem of the ballad. How does the *sword* of the knight make glorious *the mistress?* He *glorifies* her on his harp, or in his strain. But the knight-errant compels the acknowledgment of the *fame* and beauty of his mistress at the point of his sword. See Don Quixote passim. Then the idea of a faithless action *staining a constant word*, is, to say the least, clumsy, and of very dubious sense. "As ne'er were known," is a harsh substitute for, "was never heard before;" and, "I'll deck and crown *thy head*,"—in place of, "I'll *crown*, and *deck thee all*, with bays,"—is downright murder. It is easier

I'll marble-wall thee round about,
Myself shall be the door,
And if thy heart chance to slide out,
I'll never love thee more.

2.

Let not their oaths, like vollies shot,
Make any breach at all,
Nor smoothness of their language plot
Which way to scale the wall;
Nor balls of wild-fire love consume
The shrine which I adore,
For if such smoke about thee fume,
I'll never love thee more.

3.

I know thy virtues be too strong
To suffer by surprise:
If that thou slight their love too long,
Their siege at last will rise,
And leave thee conqueror, in that health
And state thou wast before;
But if thou turn a *Commonwealth*,
I'll never love thee more.

4.

And if by fraud, or by consent,
Thy heart to ruin come,
I'll sound no trumpet as I wont,
Nor march by tuck of drum,
But hold my arms, like *Achaus*,[1] up,
Thy falsehood to deplore,
And bitterly will sigh and weep,
And never love thee more.

to mar than to mend these old Cavalier minstrels. Dr Percy took Lovelace in hand, and changed the line,—so sweetly characterising the *Troubles*,—"When, like *committed linnets*, I with shriller throat shall sing,"—into, "When *linnet-like confined*, I"! And dissatisfied with the glorious Cavalier's opening Olympus to the view, when he wrote,—"The Gods that wanton in the air, know no such liberty,"—he doctored the line by substituting *birds* for *Gods*. What can be more free than the Gods at their wanton feasts in the Heavens? To change the imagery into birds on wanton wing, was to substitute a French paper for an Italian fresco.

[1] So the old broad-side copy has it. Watson's version is not more intelligible,—"And hold my arms like *ensigns* up." T. *Accius*, or *Attius*, was a great orator, and the rival

5.

I'll do with thee as Nero did
When he set Rome on fire;
Not only all relief forbid,
But to a hill retire,
And scorn to shed a tear to save
Thy spirit grown so poor,
But laugh and smile thee to thy grave,
And never love thee more.

6.

Then shall thy heart be set by mine,
But in far different case,
For mine was true, so was not thine,
But look'd like Janus' face;
For as the waves with every wind,
So sails thou every shore,
And leaves my constant heart behind,—
How can I love thee more?

7.

My heart shall with the sun be fix'd,
For constancy most strange;[1]
And thine shall with the moon be mix'd,
Delighting aye in change;
Thy beauty shin'd at first so bright!
And woe is me therefore,
That ever I found thy love so light
That I could love no more.

8.

Yet, for the love I bare thee once,
Lest that thy name should die,
A monument of marble stone
The truth shall testify;

of Cicero; "*orator eximius, Ciceronis æmulus et cœvus.*" There were two others of that name, one celebrated as a tragic poet, and the other as an Augur. See *Facciolatus, voce Accius.*

[1] These fanciful ideas of the fate of his heart acquire a deeper interest, when the actual fate, and disposal of it by a noble lady is remembered.

That every pilgrim, passing by,
May pity and deplore,
And, sighing, read the reason why
I cannot love thee more.

9.

The golden laws of love shall be
Upon these pillars hung:
A single heart; a simple eye;
A true and constant tongue;
Let no man for more love pretend
Than he has hearts in store;
True love begun will never end;
Love one and love no more.[1]

10.

And when all gallants ride about
Those monuments to view,
Whereon is written, in and out,
Thou traitorous and untrue;
Then, in a passion,[2] they shall pause,
And thus say, sighing sore,
Alas! he had too just a cause
Never to love thee more.

11.

And when that tracing goddess Fame
From east to west shall flee,
She shall record it to thy shame,
How thou hast loved me;
And how in odds our love was such
As few have been before;
Thou lov'dst too many, and I too much;
So I can love no more.

12.

The misty mount, the smoking lake,
The rock's resounding echo,
The whistling winds, the woods that shake,
Shall all, with me, sing *hey ho!*

[1] The proper reading of this stanza seems to be, that the enumeration of six "golden laws of Love," follows the two first lines of it.

[2] This quaint phrase, "in a passion," must not be confounded with the vulgar accep-

The tossing seas, the tumbling boats,
  Tears dripping from each oar,[1]
Shall *tune* with me their *turtle notes*,—
  I'll never love thee more.

13.

As doth the turtle, chaste and true,
  Her fellow's death regret,
And daily mourns for her adieu,
  And ne'er renews her mate;
So, though thy faith was never fast,
  Which grieves me wondrous sore,
Yet I shall live in love so chaste,
  That I shall love no more."

With the exception of the pasquil against Hamilton, preserved and authenticated by Sir James Balfour, and which we have inserted of its date in this biography (p. 377), and the lines he wrote on his classics, (p. 60), also preserved in the MS. of Balfour, and Drummond of Hawthornden,—the only other evidences of the poetic genius of Montrose, are the following poems, first published by Watson in 1706–11, and, as that editor states, from original manuscripts. The authorship has never been disputed.[2]

tation. Montrose used the word *passion* to signify a deep emotion of the soul; as in the highest scriptural sense. See before, p. 625, his reply to Charles I., when commanded to disband his army and quit the Kingdom.

[1] This, in Dr Irving's copy, seems a more accurate version than that in Watson's collection, where it is given, "tears dropping from each *shore*."

[2] Sir Walter Scott entertained a notion at one time, that the beautiful modern lyric, commencing—

"If doughty deeds my lady please,
  Right soon I'll mount my steed,"—

was written by Montrose. The idea was a very hasty one, which he afterwards corrected, by assigning those stanzas to the real author. In the edition of the Minstrelsy 1821, where they are inserted, he notes:—"The following verses are taken down from recitation, and are *averred* to be of the age of Charles I. They have, indeed, much of the romantic expression of passion common to the poets of that period, whose lays still reflected the setting beams of chivalry; but since their publication in the first edition of this work, the editor has been informed that they were composed by the late Mr Graham of Gartmore."

The present Mr Graham of Gartmore, justly jealous of the literary fame of his grandfather, assured the author of this biography, that he is in possession of a manuscript volume, containing, among other effusions of his accomplished ancestor, the charming ballad in question.

IV.—IN PRAISE OF WOMEN.

When heav'n's great Jove had made the world's round frame,
Earth, water, air, and fire; above the same
The rolling orbs, the planets, spheres, and all
The lesser creatures in the earth's vast ball,—
But, as a curious alchemist still draws
From grosser metals finer, and from those
Extracts another, and from that again
Another that doth far excel the same,—
So fram'd he man of elements combin'd
To excel that substance whence he was refin'd:
But that poor creature, drawn from his breast,
Excelleth him, as he excell'd the rest:
Or as a stubborn stalk whereon there grows
A dainty lilly, or a fragrant rose,—
The stalk may boast, and set its virtues forth,
But, take away the flower, where is its worth?[1]
But yet, fair ladies, you must know
Howbeit I do adore you so;
Reciprocal your flames must prove,
Or my ambition scorns to love.
A noble soul doth still abhor
To strike, but where its conqueror.

V.—SOVEREIGNTY IN DANGER.

Can little beasts with lions roar,
And little birds with eagles soar?

Can shallow streams command the seas,
And little ants the humming bees?

No no,—no no,—it is not meet
The head should stoop unto the feet.

[1] Burns hit it off more neatly, a century and a half later,—

"Auld Nature swears, the lovely dears
Her noblest work she classes, O:
Her prentice han' she tried on man,
And then she made the lasses O."

VI.—ON THE FAITHLESSNESS AND VENALITY OF THE TIMES.

Unhappy is the man
  In whose breast is confin'd
The sorrows and distresses all
  Of an afflicted mind:
Th' extremity is great;
  He dies if he conceal,—
The world's so void of secret friends,[1]—
  Betray'd if he reveal.
Then break afflicted heart!
  And live not in these days,
When all prove merchants of their faith,
  None trusts what other says.
For when the sun doth shine,
  Then shadows do appear;
But when the sun doth hide his face,
  They with the sun retire.
Some friends as shadows are,
  And fortune as the sun;
They never proffer any help
  Till fortune hath begun;
But if, in any case,
  Fortune shall first decay,
Then they, as shadows of the sun,
  With fortune run away.[2]

VII.—SYMPATHY IN LOVE.

There's nothing in this world can prove
  So true and real pleasure,
As perfect sympathy in love,
  Which is a real treasure.

[1] By "secret friends," is here meant, friends to be trusted. Montrose, from the beginning to the end of his career, found himself deserted and betrayed by those upon whom he relied.

[2] This melancholy sentiment stamps the authorship; for he wrote the same in prose to Charles I., in 1641: "They *follow your fortune*, and love not your person." See before, p. 313. It also indicates his acquaintance with Juvenal:

"Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit damnatos." Sat. x. lv. 73.

The purest strain of perfect love
In virtue's dye and season,
Is that whose influence doth move,
And doth convince, our reason.

Designs attend,— desires give place,—
Hopes had, no more availeth;
The cause remov'd, the effect doth cease,
Flames not maintain'd soon faileth.

The conquest then of richest hearts,
Well lodg'd and trimm'd by nature,[1]
Is that which true content imparts,
Where *worth* is join'd with *feature*.

Fill'd with sweet hope then must I still
Love what's to be admired;
When frowning aspects cross the will,
Desires are more endeared.

Unhappy, then, unhappy I,
To joy in tragic pleasure,
And in so dear and desperate way
To abound, yet have no treasure.

Yet will I not of fate despair,
Time oft in end relieveth,
But hope my star will change her air,
And joy where now she grieveth.

VIII.—SPEECHLESS GRIEF.

[*Probably written on the death of Charles the First.*]

Burst out my soul in main of tears,
And thou my heart, sighs-tempest move,
My tongue let never plaints forbear,
But murmur still my crossed love;
Combine together all in one,
And thunder forth my tragic moan.

[1] "Tun'd by nature," might be suggested as a better reading. At the same time, a heart "well *lodged* and *trimm'd* by nature," would seem to mean, that the jewel of a rich heart should not be without a beautiful casket.

But tush: poor drop,—cut breath,—broke air,—
Can you my passions [ere] express?
No; rather but augment my care,
In making them appear the less;[1]
Seeing that but from small woes, words do come,
But great ones, they are always dumb.[2]

My swelling grief then bend yourself
This fatal breast of mine to fill,
The centre where all sorrows dwell,
The 'lembick where all griefs distil;
That silent thus in plaints I may
Consume and melt myself away.[3]

Yet that I may contented die,
I only wish, before my death,
Transparent that my breast may be,
Ere that I do expire my breath,—
Since sighs, tears, plaints express no smart,
It might be seen into my heart.

[1] "Being afraid rather to *spoil* my thoughts than to *express* them." (Letter from Montrose to the Chancellor Hyde, on the murder of Charles I.; see p. 691.)

[2] "The griefs that astonish, speak more with their *silence* than those that *can complain*." (Letter to Hyde, *ut supra*.)

When these coincidences, between the above poem and this letter, are considered, the inference can scarcely be avoided, that Montrose had written the verses with reference to the same anguish under which he addressed the Chancellor, and composed his *metrical vow*. We venture to say so at the risk of having our "taste" impugned by the same noble and accomplished critic who insists upon ignoring the *loyalty* in Montrose's ballad. "Burst out my soul in main of tears," indicates a mood, or *passion*, of his mind so desperate, that it cannot with plausibility be referred to any other source. We know that the sudden announcement of the murder of the King did, in point of fact, strike him to the earth, rigid, speechless, and senseless. The reference to unutterable feeling, which we find both in the letter and in the poem, is derived from the *Hippolytus* of Seneca, where the half-choking *Phædra* is made to reply to the object of her guilty passion,—

"Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent."

From shallow woes the words loquacious come,
Light cares have language, but the deep are dumb.

The allusion affords another interesting evidence how Montrose read and loved the Classics.

[3] This verse suggests a coincidence with Lord Byron's,—

"My thoughts their dungeon know too well,
Back to my breast the wanderers shrink,
And drop within their silent cell."

Such are all the remnants that have reached us of the desolate Muse of Montrose. Independently of the fact that they have never been claimed for any one else, during the two centuries that have elapsed since his death, we have been able to point out, for the first time, certain very remarkable coincidences between these poems and the sentiments, expressions, and quotations, occurring in some of his own letters, that suffice to stamp the authorship. Had we been so fortunate as to discover any of these *venti spolia* in his own handwriting, certainly they would have been printed precisely as he wrote them. But from the rude, and no doubt careless, prints of these mere scatterings of a most accomplished genius, whose fate it was to be far otherwise occupied, we have not hesitated to discard the antique and unsettled orthography, and to make a few simple and obvious verbal corrections of the older press.

III.

MONTROSE'S DEFENCE OF HIMSELF, WRITTEN BETWEEN HIS LAST VICTORY AT KILSYTH, AND HIS FIRST DEFEAT AT PHILIPHAUGH.

[While the conduct of Montrose in quitting the Covenanters has been the subject of political controversy throughout two centuries since his death, the fact remained unknown, that he had written, or caused to be written, a systematical defence of himself, which his defeat at Philiphaugh, and subsequent fate, alone withheld from promulgation. The very accidental manner in which this valuable and interesting document came to light a few years since, is curious. Our former edition of the life of Montrose, had attracted the attention of a Scottish historical antiquary, Mr John Mackinlay, Comptroller of the Customs at Whitehaven. Though a stranger to the author, that gentleman, with great liberality communicated various stray scraps of historical manuscripts, apparently connected with the history of Montrose, which had accidentally come into his possession. He had not particularly investigated their contents, or bearing upon history, as the manuscripts were very difficult to decypher. But the author of this biography happened to possess ample means of judging, that the most important of these papers was all written by the hand of Archibald first Lord Napier, Montrose's "guide, philosopher, and friend." The communication was the more valuable, that the voluminous chronological series of historical documents, which we entitled, "Memorials of Montrose," and which have aided so greatly in completing his biography, was then in the course of being printed for the Maitland Club. The precious document accordingly found its place in that noble collection, vol., I. p. 215, where it is fully illustrated with notes. It were unpardonable, however, to omit the repetition of it in this biography; as the context proves that it is written in the name of Montrose, and in fact bears to be his own defence of himself, although in the handwriting of his friend Lord Napier. Doubtless they were both too busy with it at Selkirk, while *cannie* David Leslie was stealing upon Philiphaugh through the mist. Lord Napier was only released from prison after the battle of Kilsyth. He then joined Montrose, and escaped with him from the field of Philiphaugh to Fincastle,

in Athole, where he died immediately. The last exertion of his pen must have been this *Remonstrance* so strangely come to light after two centuries ; probably it was left behind at the fatal scene of defeat. The writing is so cramp and small, that in all likelihood it had never been previously decyphered, although accidentally preserved in the hands of strangers. It bears no title, but commences as we here give it, dispensing, however, with the antiquated orthography.]

WHEREAS it hath pleased the Commissioners of the pretended General Assembly summarily to excommunicate us, against our Saviour's own rule, and judgment of our reformed Divines, (and the Brownistical faction over-ruling our Church for the time, and the General Assembly, do ratify and approve their impious and perverse proceedings against us), and to declare us unworthy to be esteemed members of this our mother Kirk,—as also the pretended Parliament to presume to forfeit us, meddle with our estates, and thereby declare us unworthy to carry or enjoy our inheritance as others his Majesty's subjects,—we have thought fit, for our own clearing, and the Country's satisfaction, to emit this our REMONSTRANCE to the view of the world, that all, in whose bowels remains so much as one spark of Christian charity, may perceive the lawfulness of our proceedings, and so approve us,—our malicious and bloody persecutors be condemned for their unlawful proceedings against us,—our friends and favorites, suppressed by tyranny of the subject, may be animated and encouraged to share with us : In doing whereof we shall follow this method :—

First, shew the occasion of our just revolt from these Usurpers.

Second, the just grounds of our proceeding against them.

Lastly, we shall clearly vindicate ourselves from those false aspersions laid upon us by them.

I. For the first, our revolt from them shall be best perceived by our progress with them, and their like ways where we left them. Our progress with them, to confess, was so far that we could not go further with a safe conscience, when we perceived their unlawful designs. For settling of our Religion, and the peace of our disturbed nation, we *gave way to more than was warrantable :* but, having obtained what was desired for the benefit of Church and Country, could not choose but keep what we had found, *and suffer them to deviate without us*, together with the multitude misled by them ; as shall be, by God's grace, cleared by us in this REMONSTRANCE.

It cannot be denied, neither ever shall be by us, that this our nation was reduced to almost irreparable evil by the perverse practices of the sometime pretended Prelates ; who, having abused lawful authority, did not only usurp to be lords over God's inheritance but also intruded

themselves in the prime places of civil government; and, by their Court of High Commission, did so abandon themselves, to the prejudice of the Gospel, that the very quintessence of popery was publicly preached by Arminians, and the life of the Gospel stolen away by enforcing on the Kirk a dead Service-book, the brood of the bowels of the Whore of Babel; as also, to the prejudice of the Country, fining and confining at their pleasure; in such sort, that trampling upon the necks of all whose conscience could not condescend to be of their coin, none were sure of life, nor estate, till it pleased God to stir up his own instruments, both in Church and Police, for preventing further, and opposing, such impiety.[1] In the which it cannot be denied we did pray for, and by all lawful means seek, redress of these evils, by Supplications, Declarations, and Protestations: All so little prevailed that we were constrained to *renew* our Covenant,[2] as the only safest and fairest way for preservation of Religion and Liberty; which was [so] opposed by the Prelates and their adherents that by [mis]information they moved our dread Sovereign to threaten us on both sides with arms, and by a Navy under the conduct of James Marquis of Hamilton, *the prime fomenter of these misunderstandings betwixt the King and his subjects;* whereby we were constrained to put ourselves in a posture of arming for our own defence, till it pleased God that the King's Majesty, being informed of the lawfulness of our proceedings and honest intentions, for the most part was graciously pleased to accept of our petitions, and grant us a lawful General Assembly, to be held at Edinburgh,[3] wherein the Acts of the Assembly of Glasgow were ratified without so much as a show of opposition by his Majesty's Commissioner, conform to the conference and capitulation at the camp of Berwick. But the members of the said Parliament, some of them having *far designs* unknown to us, others of them having found the *sweetness of government*, were pleased to refuse the ratification of the Acts of Assembly, with the abjuration of Episco-

[1] This, written at the culminating point of Montrose's victorious career, is as unjustly severe against Episcopal government as the bitterest Covenanter could desire. The language savours very strongly of Lord Napier's study of his father's famous Commentaries on the Apocalypse, wherein the Inventor of Logarithms was supposed to have demonstrated that the Pope was Antichrist. But the sentiment would not have been put into the mouth of Montrose by Lord Napier without his pupil's perfect concurrence. Indeed, with his dying breath, he told his clerical persecutors,—"Bishops, I care not for them; I never intended to advance their interest." See after, p. 787.

[2] The Covenant of 1638 professed to be a renewal of King James' Covenant, or Negative Confession of 1580.

[3] The Assembly which met at Edinburgh upon the 12th of August 1639, Traquair being Commissioner.

pacy and Court of High Commission introduced by the Prelates, unless they had the whole *alleged* liberty due to the subject, (which was in fact intrenching upon *authority*,) and the total abrogation of his Majesty's royal *prerogative*:[1] whereby the King's Commissioner was constrained to rise and discharge the Parliament, and was urged to levy new forces to suppress their unlawful desires. And fearing lest their unlawful desires, and our flat refusal of his Majesty's offer, conform to the conference foresaid, should have moved his Majesty to recal what he had condescended unto, to the prejudice of Religion and Liberties of the subject, and, on the other hand, calling to mind the oath of allegiance, and Covenant subscribed for the maintenance of his Majesty's honor and greatness,—*wrestling betwixt extremities*, and resolved rather to suffer with the people of God for the benefit of true Religion, than to give way to his Majesty in what then seemed *doubtsome*, and being most unwilling to divide from them we were joined with in Covenant,—we did *still* undertake with them, till, having obtained our desires to the full, conform to the conference had with his Majesty's Peers at Rippon,[2] with many other points alleged appertaining to the liberty of the subject (unheard of till his Majesty was present in Parliament,) all which his Majesty was pleased to ratify in Parliament with his own presence, till they could ask no more,—thus far we went on till having obtained all which by our national Covenant we could ask or crave,—all which we are resolved to stand by to the uttermost of our power:—But finding the prevailing party to intend more than they did pretend, which we do perceive tends greatly to the prejudice of our reformed Religion, ruin of lawful authority, and liberty of the subject, *contrary* to our national Covenant,—we were constrained to suffer them to deviate without us,

[1] This precisely confirms Bishop Guthry, who says,—"The Parliament sate down upon Saturday the 31st of August, the Lord Commissioner being present therein. All the acts of the Assembly were ratified by Parliament, with his Grace's allowance, and then it was expected that the Parliament should have arisen, being only indicted for that end. But the leaders of the cause *had further projects:* and, instead of rising, proposed a number of new motions concerning the constitution of Parliaments, and other things never treated on before, whereanent the Commissioner told them he had no instructions. *Montrose argued somewhat against those motions*, for which the zealots became suspicious of him that the King had turned him, at his being with his Majesty in Berwick. Yet they seemed to take little notice thereof; only the vulgar, whom they used to hound on, whispered in the streets to his prejudice; and, the next morning, he found affixed upon his chamber-door a paper, with these words written in it:—"*Invictus armis, verbis vincitur.*"—See before, p. 222.

[2] At the treaty between the English and Scottish Commissioners, in 1640, "when," says Hallam, "in the alarming posture of his affairs, Charles had no resource but the dishonourable pacification of Rippon." See before, p. 289.

with the multitude misled by them, whose *eyes they syll* in what concerns Religion, and *hearts they steal* alway in what concerns Loyalty: AND THERE WE LEFT THEM.

1st. Which was perceived by us: *First*, in the refusal of our [Sovereign's] ratification of our reformed Religion at Glasgow and Edinburgh, with the abrogation of the late novations in civil Government introduced by the Prelates and their adherents, (viz., the Court of High Commission,) without encroaching upon his Majesty's royal prerogative, contrary to the articles agreed upon at the camp at Berwick; which their desire was fomented by the *Brownistical* faction of the ministry.

2d. The *second* cause of our just proceeding was their attempts to establish a new Government at our going to England; by convening the Country; and giving commissions not only tending to the prejudice of authority, but also to thrall *subject to subject:* And this was their account; to draw our armies from Newcastle to York, to invade his Majesty, without sending commissioners to treat with his Majesty, unless it [had] been *prevented by us*, and such as loved to be both *religious* and *loyal.*

3d. A *third* cause was the casting of the King's favourites, whom they knew were mindful to maintain his Majesty's honour and greatness, and incarcerating such of us, *indicta causa*, as they conceived would oppose their rebellious and unreasonable attempts. All this, and more of the like, we did comport with, for the peace of our country; and, God is our witness, were most willing to pack up all private injuries, which we profess ourselves this day to be far from resenting, if the *last and greatest* had not followed; viz., the joining in league with the *Brownists* and *Independents* in England, to the prejudice of Religion, and [with] the factious remainder of England, to the prejudice of authority, and liberty of the subject: In which league we perceived Presbyterial Government, sworn to by us, to be esteemed loose; and subjects obliged to take arms against their Prince, for maintenance of the liberties of the Parliament of England, which they knew not; the abolition of Episcopacy out of that kirk, contrary to the mind of the most part of the subscribers of our National Covenant, and the conclusions of the Assembly at Glasgow; men obliged to blind obedience, involving the subjects in perjury and disloyalty; with many other absurdities couched in the said league; which league we were either constrained to subscribe against our conscience,—as many were constrained to do, for which *God give them repentance*,—or otherwise to go to perpetual prison, or quit their country and estates: But, not daring to make ship-

wreck of conscience, we resolved to leave the country,[1] and, if it had been possible, to have lived under the shelter of our Prince in our neighbour nation; but finding there was no time for dallying, nor place for lurking, but, on the contrary, all constrained to *kyth*[2] what they were, and being pressed with a lawful calling to undertake what we had sworn in our *National* Covenant, [we] found ourselves bound in conscience to take arms for the defence of our reformed Religion, and maintenance of his Majesty's honour, and liberty of the subject, rather than suffer ourselves to be misled by the misinformed multitude, in prejudice of the premises.

II. Thus having shown the occasion of our revolt from them, to be *their revolt* from their National Covenant, and deviation from the way of *truth*, in the next room we shall remonstrate the ground of our present proceedings.

1st. The grounds are nothing else but the ground of our National Covenant. The *first* is the maintenance of our Religion, with the abolition of Episcopacy out of this Kirk; which, in effect, was nothing else but the restoration of that which our first Reformers had before Prelacy,—(as is clear by our many declarations and protestations made to that purpose,)—which, we believe, was then as free of Brownism as of Prelacy; [and] which if we knew to be altered, *we protest in God's sight* we should be the first should draw a sword in defence thereof: But now, finding the *outcasting of the locust* to be the *inbringing of the caterpillar*, as is evident from the alternative, *or*, in their Directory, by which is given way, and a door open, to their worship and government,—but as the one, viz. Episcopacy, is abjured by us, so the other is no less hurtful unto us,—resolving, then, to eschew the extremities, and keep *the middle way* of our reformed Religion, we, by God's grace and assistance, shall endeavour to maintain [it] with the hazard of our lives and fortunes, and [it] shall be no less dear to us than our own souls: WE TAKE ARMS FOR THE DEFENCE THEREOF.

2d. The *second* ground is the maintenance of the King's honour and greatness, which, when they could not find a way to diminish among ourselves by any legal course, [they] have now found a way by the factious and tumultuous uproars in our neighbour nation, with whom they have joined themselves in an unlawful League, tying themselves to the like sedition; and have prosecuted their rebellious attempts by

[1] This passage is one of several in the context which prove unequivocally, that, though the MS. be Lord Napier's autograph, we must understand that *Montrose loquitur*.

[2] *Kyth*, that is, to make manifest, to declare themselves on one side or other.

levying arms against him,—entering in our neighbour nation,—taking of his Majesty's towns and forts,—contrary to our Covenant and promise to his Majesty at Parliament and Pacification,—all invincible arguments of base disloyalty and high rebellion; which to recall and repress, we shall, God assisting, ever endeavour.

3d. The *third* and last is the vindication of our nation from the base servitude of subjects, who, like the Israelites, have their burdens doubled, but are not sensible of them; which, before *we* endure, we shall rather undergo the hazard of *all that man can do to us*. On these grounds, and no other grounds, God is our witness,—who is the searcher of hearts, before whose tribunal we must all one day appear and give a reckoning,—that we are, and shall be, most willing to lay down arms on these terms, and whensoever these conditions shall be condescended unto: But, by the contrary, or we suffer ourselves to be bereft of any of these, rather to be bereft of our lives and fortunes.

III. These being the grounds of our proceedings, in the last room we shall clear ourselves of the false aspersions laid on us.

1st. And *first*, our enemies brand us as perfidious revolters from our Covenant; which, we are bold to aver, none dare do but such as have perfidiously violated their National Covenant, by novations introduced in the Kirk; by rebellion against our Prince; and [oppressing?] of his Majesty's subjects to the loss of their lives, and ruin of their estates; [as] is more than manifest in them by their unlawful league; levying of arms, and going to England; and impositions unheard of under which the land groaneth; for relief whereof we are willing to suffer, to spend and be spent, though the more we love the less we are loved.

2d. *Secondly*, they brand us with a note of *malignancy*, and disclaim us as unnatural countrymen, coming against our country in an hostile way. We answer, we never intended to come *against* our country, but *for* our country, and clad with a commission for reforming the abuses thereof; though many love so *the flesh-pots of their own pleasures*, that they cannot part with their particulars on any terms; others stand in fear of arms, and are afraid to do what they would do on *assurance* of victory, but *dare not hazard* any thing for Religion, Prince, or Country; willing rather to be bereft from them by usurpers, than to strive to enjoy what they have by lawful authority; and are so stuffed with infidelity, that they can believe nothing but what they see, and can commit nothing to God;[1] a third sort so misled that they perceive not

[1] These remarks also stamp this Remonstrance as coming from Montrose, who was eventually ruined by the miserable backwardness, and frequent defection, of those upon

the light, nor [are] sensible of their danger; but their misleaders, like unnatural countrymen, or vipers, are wasting the bowels of their native nation for their own benefit; and as they have unnaturally killed many sent forth by them, so let them *take malignancy to themselves*, as having kindled the coal, fomented the flames, and, by disturbing the peace of the country, like salamanders live in the fire of contention; which we trust, in God's own time, shall be extinguished, to the honour of his name, to the re-establishing of lawful authority long since established, and vindication of the nation from the servitude of the subject, so miserably enthralled by them.

3d. *Thirdly*, They disclaim us, as enemies to Religion, as having joined with Major Macdonald,[1] a professed papist, who with us seeks the ruin thereof: For answer; God knows the contrary, and our reformed religion shall be more dear to us than any thing can be in this life. As for joining with Major Macdonald, we marvel why they should think that which was *lawful for them* should be *unlawful for us;* as if they had greater liberty to make use of his Majesty's subjects than he himself had. Was it lawful for them in Ireland, under Monro, to employ the self-same people, and is it not lawful for us to employ them here? They had a proof of his loyalty and fidelity, till some of them sent commission to apprehend him for their own private ends, whereby he was constrained to flee for his own safety, who is now joined with us for manifestation of his loyalty to his Prince, and love to his native nation, endeavouring with us the honour of the one, and liberty of the other; and on no other terms does he join with us, nor we with him. If we had not first essayed our own countrymen, who were not only obliged in Covenant with us, but also by many oaths and faithful promises to their Prince, the maker up of their estates, to whom if they had not been most ingrate, they could not have broken them,—there might have been somewhat alleged; but *having first essayed them*, and being disappointed by them,[2] it was lawful for his Majesty, or his Commissioner,

whose co-operation he was well entitled to calculate. And hence, too, it was that he wrote:—

> "He either fears his fate too much,
> Or his deserts are small,
> Who puts it not unto the touch
> To gain or lose it all."

And on his copy of Quintus Curtius this couplet,—

> "So, great attempts, *heroic ventures*, shall
> Advance my fortune, or renown my fall."

[1] Montrose's famous Major-General, Alaster or Alexander MacColl Keitache.

[2] See pp. 407, 787.

to make use of any his lawful subjects, rather than to suffer his authority to be trampled under the feet of subjects, or his Majesty's subjects to be brought in bondage with their equals. Then if any in this point be blame-worthy, it is those who deceived his Majesty with hopes most traitorously.[1]

4th. And, *finally*, we are disclaimed as traitors and bloody rebels. Answer: Traitors we are not, to God, nor King, nor Country. *Not to God*, because we stand and fall, by God's assistance, for the reformed religion, as said is, in truth and discipline; but those are traitors to God and his Church, that open a door to *Brownism* and *Independency*, both in worship and discipline, which we *offer us to prove*, by production of the tenets of the Brownists and Independents, contrary to our religion by our *first Reformers* (which we *professed* to be our seeking), and the intention of our late Reformers, which being compared with their Directory shall be more evident. *Traitors to the King we are not;* for we go about his Majesty's expedition according to his *express mandate;* and those are traitors to his Majesty that *brangles* his Majesty's authority, pertaining to him *jure hereditario;* that meddle with his Majesty's revenues, and employ them to their own use; that abuse his Majesty's trust put upon them, as if all their treacheries were done by his authority;[2] that traduce his Majesty to his subjects, as an enemy to Religion; that carry arms against him to cut short his authority in England, belonging to him by conquest of his Majesty's predecessors, and do directly set their face against the sacred person of the Lord's anointed. Such damnable treacheries the Lord will recompence. *Traitors to our Country we are not*, for we endeavour the liberties thereof; but those are traitors, who, deceive the Country in making them believe that the religion is in hazard, when it is not, blessed be God; that the King seeks the overthrow thereof, which is far from him, as we have by many attestations from his Majesty; as also is made notorious by his Majesty's printed declaration, more worthy of credit than the public faith of some *private committee-men*, that foment misunderstanding betwixt the King and his subjects; that oppress the Country with subsidies, and new-devised excises, pressing them to take arms against their Prince; take up the revenues under colour of maintenance of war, when the soldiers have free quarters in the Country;[3] and, in a word, expose the Country to the loss of their lives and estates, for their own ends. Of this they dare not deny themselves guilty, being compassed with such a cloud of witnesses. Then let the indifferent auditor judge whether

[1] Alluding to the councils of Hamilton, and some others.

[2] See before, p. 253.

[3] See after, p. lv.

they or we be traitors to God, King, or Country. And as for rebellion, it hath been so far from us, that all who have but common sense may perceive our repression of rebellion, as being sent from our Prince for that effect; and shall still, God assisting, continue, till this wickedness be taken off from the land. And as for *shedding of blood*, it is so far from our intentions, that, God knoweth, if it were possible, we would by all means shun the same; neither ever did we shed the blood of any but of such as *were sent forth by them to shed our blood*[1] and to take our lives; whose blood we shed in our own defence; and what is done in this kind it may be sensibly seen to be the Lord's doing, in making a handful to overthrow multitudes; neither will the Lord's sword be put in till the rebels repent them of their rebellion, perjury, and oppression; and what the sword does not, the Lord will by his other plagues perform, till those that be secret in their holds perish with those that are in the fields, and the tall cedars fall with the little bramble. *So let all thine enemies perish, oh Lord, and let all those that love thee be as the sun when he comes forth in his might.*

Thus having remonstrated the lawfulness of our proceedings, let all hereby receive warning who tender the reformed religion without innovations; the reigning of lawful authority over us,—which to want, experience does now teach us what it is, to the simplest that love the enjoyment of our liberties, and to be freed from subsidies and excises, excessively imposed on the subjects,—let all, we say, receive warning to join with us, and leave off longer to follow the rebellious courses of usurping traitors, assuring all, who will fully persevere in their perverse ways and so partake (what their sins shall likewise partake of,) the punishment,—FINIS CORONAT OPUS.[2]

[1] See before, pp. 548, 582, 795.

[2] There is no signature to the document; but immediately after the latin quotation, there follows abruptly, also in Lord Napier's handwriting, a list of the losses sustained by the Covenanters at the battle of Kilsyth, as given before at p. 551, *note*. The whole context proves that this "Remonstrance" runs in the name of Montrose; and contains his own defence of himself. It must have been written after the battle of Kilsyth, and prior to the rout at Philiphaugh; most probably at Selkirk. It is written in Lord Napier's smallest autograph, and upon very small sheets of paper, from lack of better materials. Neither, we think can it be doubted, that it contains Napier's own sentiments also, and that he and his illustrious pupil framed it together. It would have been promulgated by Montrose, had not adverse fate prevented his holding the Parliament at Glasgow, in terms of his high commission.

IV.

ARGYLE'S DEFENCE OF HIMSELF.

The " man of craft, subtilty, and falsehood," as his own father characterised him, could not have *reasoned* his case, like his great opponent in the foregoing *Remonstrance*. Neither did he ever, nor do we believe that he had the ability to discourse like a rational or highly educated Christian, on the subject of Church and State, or of his own tenets, views, and objects relative thereto, as did Montrose, in such papers as his letter on Sovereign Power, in 1640 (p. 280), or his letter of advice to Charles I., in 1641 (p. 311), or his letter to Charles II. at the Hague, in 1649 (p. 700). Argyle's mode was to *assume* the sanctity and hallowed integrity of his own character and conduct, by a free and Pharisaical use, in all his epistles, of the name of God, of Religion, and of the liberty of the subject. How far he was justified in this assumption, is well illustrated by that *Exoneration* which he extorted from his debased Parliament, for *any violence whatever* done to the liberty of the subject, or freedom taken with their property, houses, or castles, or " for burning of the same, and putting of fire thereinto, or otherways destroying the same howsoever; or by *putting of whatsomever person or persons to torture or question*, or *putting of any person or persons to death*, at any time betwixt the 18th day of June 1640, and the 2d day of August next thereafter." (See before, p. 253).

In the month of *September* after that unopposed campaign of oppression and cruelty benorth the Forth, our patriot *par excellence* writes,—

" *For my much honoured friend, the Laird of Balfour, younger, these:*

" Most affectionate friend:

" As never ane *poor nation* hath done and ventured more for the *Religion* and *Liberty*, with greater encouragement for assurance of success *from God's dealing with us*, than this kingdom, so it is not now to be doubted that any gentleman of honour will be wanting to crown his endeavours, by putting to his hand in the conclusion of it, whether by fair treaty (which is wished), or by *arms* (if necessity urge us to it). And for this effect, as these of the *committee* here have given me charge to invite all gentlemen volunteers, who desire not their *courage*, and affection to this cause, to be doubted,—therefore, as one of that number, I make bold to intreat you to let me have your company; and, with

God's assistance, we may be very helpful to our friends; and *I shall share with you* in every condition it shall please God to bring us in.[1] The particular orders for the time and place of rendezvous is to be shown by your county. You are to be free of toilsome duty, and to have *free quarters* for meat and lodging after the rendezvous. Thus I expect your presence at our rendezvous; and I shall be particularly tied to remain

"Your affectionate friend,

"ARGYLL."

"Edinburgh, 19th September 1640.

"I entreat you to invite and encourage all those in whom you have interest, or acquaintance, to come forth."[2]

V.

NOTE ON THE HISTORICAL CALUMNY THAT MONTROSE MADE AN OFFER TO CHARLES I. OF HIS PERSONAL SERVICES TO ASSASSINATE HAMILTON, LANERICK, AND ARGYLE. (*See p.* 359.)

We have examined in our text the precise extent of Clarendon's responsibility, in having afforded the *sole groundwork* for the most notable specimen of "enormous lying" that is to be met with in History. The present note must suffice to expose the manner in which the anecdote has been dealt with by various historians who, throughout nearly the whole of the last century, and one half of this, have handed it from one to the other, as if it were the proper vocation of History to perpetuate calumnious nonsense.

1.—ROGER ACHERLEY.

Roger Acherley, of the Inner Temple, London, published his "Britannic Constitution" in 1727, seventy-seven years after the death of Montrose, wherein (p. 443) this passage occurs:—

"But about this time, October 1641, there fell out two occurrences which embarrassed the ministers, and caused great distractions and

[1] Except such a condition as the battle of Inverlochy.

[2] *Original*, recently acquired by Mr T. G. Stevenson, from the collection of the late Mr Robert Pitcairn.

confusion.[1] The first was a *rumour* of a conspiracy at Edinburgh while the King was there, to take off, by foul means, the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Earl of Argyle, which Earl had been an active manager in the late invasion, in August 1640; and it is *undoubtedly* true, according to Lord Clarendon, that Earl Montrose *privately* proposed to the King, and *undertook himself*, to make them both away; and *no doubt* Warriston was to have kept them company."

The marvel is, that a man like Clarendon could ever have brought himself to note down at all such unutterable absurdity, even although he happened at the time to be ignorant that the alleged proposer of this *double* assassination (to be performed *by himself*), was most jealously watched, under solitary confinement, in the Castle of Edinburgh, and the prisoner of Argyle, one of those whom he is said to have offered to *assassinate!* We have shown (p. 362) that Clarendon had recovered his senses on that subject. He never *published* the anecdote. As for his manuscripts, he was, to say the least, extremely careless of accuracy in noting facts respecting Montrose, as we have elsewhere illustrated by a signal example (see after, p. 689).

But Acherley, publishing seventy-seven years after the death of the Marquis, ought to have known the historical fact, that Montrose, when alleged to have made the offer of his *personal services* to perpetrate this *double* assassination, was actually the prisoner of Argyle; that he was never even brought before the inquisitorial committee except under "a sure guard;" and never suffered to speak to a human being without express permission, and in the presence of his jailor. Still, Acherley takes it entirely upon himself to turn Clarendon's anecdote into a *treble* assassination, by adding the name of *Warriston!*

2.—JOHN OLDMIXON.

Oldmixon, whom D'Israeli truly characterises as a "vile writer," published his history of the Stuarts in the year 1730, and greedily adopted Clarendon's anecdote, swallowing Acherley's addition at the same time:—

"The King had not been many weeks in Scotland, before news came to London, of a conspiracy at Edinburgh to murder the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Earl of Argyle. Lord Clarendon *confesses* it was

[1] Just as "the ministers" intended that those "occurrences" should do. See the "Incident" thoroughly sifted, and critically examined, in our former work, "Montrose and the Covenanters," 1838, pp. 78–168. See also "Memorials of Montrose," (Maitland Club), vol. ii. pp. 1–20; *Introduction to Part IV.*

a *true* plot; but Echard says of it, as he said of Goring's conspiracy, it was only a *pretended* one. The *truth is*, Montrose himself offered *to get* these two Lords assassinated; and, as *Archerley adds*, Warriston was to have kept them company."—Stuff.

3.—DAVID HUME.

The reflecting and philosophical Hume, to his honour be it recorded, without stepping much aside to investigate what he saw, from the very statement, to be an absurd falsehood, disposed of it thus:—

"It is not improper to take notice of a mistake committed by Clarendon, much to the disadvantage of this gallant nobleman (Montrose), that he offered to the King, when his Majesty was in Scotland, to assassinate Argyle. All the time the King was in Scotland, Montrose was confined to prison."—(History of England, vol. vii. p. 44).

This historian, manifestly treating the scandal *de haut en bas*, omitted to notice that Clarendon's anecdote included Hamilton also, and so contained another element to prove, we may say, its *utter impossibility*. For no one knew better than did Montrose, that Hamilton reclined in the bosom of Charles, who loved him (even while suspecting him) more than as a brother, and who shed bitter tears of shame and sorrow, when he found that long trusted favourite pretending to distrust his best benefactor now. Moreover, Hume, like the rest, was not aware (owing to the blundered editorial suppressions) that Clarendon had completely disabused *himself*, in whatever state he may have left his voluminous and complicated manuscripts, of the horrid calumny which he had been so silly as to note, and so careless as not to destroy.

4.—MALCOLM LAING.

The ground cut from under his feet by Hume, and in the midst of materials in the Advocates' Library sufficient to refute such a calumny ten times over, this pompous partizan sets himself cunningly to bolster it up again. He does not notice the refutation by Hume. He passes no criticism upon Clarendon's ignorance of Montrose's actual position at the time, an ignorance which Laing himself saw at once. But with all the dignified composure, and authority, of the march of Constitutional History, he passes into a perfectly new phase of the story,—insinuates an *amended* version, which Hume's refutation had rendered indispensible,—taking, however, the benefit of Clarendon's also:—

"According to Clarendon," says Laing, "that nobleman (Montrose)

by the introduction of Murray of the Bed-chamber, was admitted privately to the King; informed him of *many particulars* from the beginning of the rebellion (to which, as a member of the Committee of Estates, he was *necessarily* privy [1]); asserted, and offered to prove in Parliament, that Hamilton was not less faulty and false than Argyle; but rather advised that they should both be *assassinated;* which, with his usual frankness, he undertook to execute. As Montrose was then in prison, the *interview* was obtained *indirectly*, through the *intervention* of *Cochrane*.[2] But Clarendon's information is *otherwise correct.* The assassination of Hamilton and Argyle was *characteristical of Montrose.*"

So speaks Contitutional History! And all this by means of an *interview* between the Sovereign and *Argyle's* prisoner; which interview, however, was not an interview, but an *intervention!* Characteristical of Montrose? Was prior history not teeming with his true characteristics? Burnet calls him "well learned, and stately to affectation." He was described, by those sacrificers to the Graces, the covenanting preachers, haunting his dying moments till he said to them,—"pray, gentlemen, let me die in peace,"—as being, "in his natural temper aspiring and lofty, in his way and manners a little too airy and volage;" but, in reply to their fanatical accusations, "discoursing on them handsomely, as *he could well do*, intermingling many Latin apothegms;" (see after, p. 786). This is the testimony of his bitterest enemies! In 1624, when he was just twelve years of age, riding home for the holidays from his studies in Glasgow, his worthy "pedagogue" notes,—"Given, at *Lord James's command*, at his Lordship's coming from Glasgow to Kincardine, to two poor *soldartes* (soldiers) by the way, six shillings: To the poor, at Lord James's *onloupin* (mounting), four shillings." This was characteristical of Montrose's *boyhood*, as we have abundantly proved in the history of his school and college life. "*Too great lenity* in sparing the enemy's houses,—the discretion of that *generous and noble youth* was but *too great*,"—is the Reverend Robert Baillie's own characterising of Montrose as a *Covenanter.* "We pursued for nine miles together, making a great slaughter, which I would have hindered *if possible;* for well I know your Majesty does not delight in their blood, but in their returning to their duty; I have *saved* and taken

[1] The parenthesis is Laing's, not Clarendon's; and is as weak as it is insidious. Montrose, and all such honest statesmen, although nominally members of the great Committee, were carefully excluded from the counsels of the Covenant, and complained that they were so; see before, p. 238.

[2] Our old friend, the *nervous Colonel!* see before, p. 277; a strange selection for Montrose to make, to carry such a proposition. And how did the Colonel *get into the Castle?*

prisoners several gentlemen of the name of Campbell, that have acknowledged to me their fault, and lay all the blame on their chief; some gentlemen of the lowlands, that had behaved themselves bravely in the battle, fled into the old castle; and, upon surrender, I have treated them *honourably*, and taken their parole never to bear arms against your Majesty;" (see after, p. 485). This was characteristical of Montrose as a victorious royalist, in the red hour of battle, and with the avenging sword in his hand. Surely we may now say, that Malcolm Laing's silly fiat is only characteristical of that historian.[1]

5.—GEORGE BRODIE.

This learned jurisconsult, whose avowed adventure in the walk of History was to banish Hume out of that field for ever, was not likely to excite his diligence in detecting Laing on the subject of this note. Lord Mahon prides himself as having "cast another stone upon the cairn" of Montrose. But did he ever visit the cairn which George Brodie built? It beats all the cairns in Covenantdom. *Assassinations* form the base, and "execrable poetry" the apex, with *treachery* and *butchery* between. Here it is:

"Active, cruel, daring, and unprincipled, he seemed formed by nature for civil broils. Chagrined at real or supposed neglect from the court, he joined the Covenanters with a bitterness of spirit which was mistaken for enthusiastic zeal. But vexed, on the one hand, at being eclipsed in the council by the abilities and influence of Argyle, and in the army by Leslie, and allured, on the other, by the prospect of high court favour, the want of which had first stung him with mortification and revenge, he eagerly listened to tempting offers, and not only engaged to renounce the principles for which he had contended, but to betray the cause, to conspire by perjury against the lives and honour of the individuals with whom he had acted in concert, and latterly to propose cutting them off by *assassination*, or, by suddenly raising a faction in the hour of unsuspecting security, to perpetrate an indiscriminate slaughter *upon all* the leading men of the party. Detected in his wickedness, and *utterly cast off by the whole body as bloated with iniquity*, he allowed the tumultuous fury of wounded pride, and disappointed ambition, to assume the semblance of principle, and looked towards the ruin of the political franchises and the religion of his country, which he had so sworn to

[1] Compare Malcolm Laing's account of the proceedings during the settlement of Scotland by Charles I. in 1641, text, and appendix of notes, with "Montrose and the Covenanters," and "Memorials of Montrose," as quoted before,

maintain, as to the necessary removal of standing reproaches of his apostacy, and barriers to his aggrandizement. Hence there was *no scheme so desperate that he hesitated to recommend, none so wicked that he declined to execute.*"

There is no character, in ancient or modern times, more atrocious than what is here described. Nor is our historian contented with this concentration of his indignant feelings. Throughout various passages of the work in question, he has exhausted the powers of his language to paint Montrose a monster. He calls him a "nobleman destitute of either public or private principle;" and while revelling in the barbarous details of his execution, speaks of him as "the blackest criminal;" of "his manifold enormities;" his "breach of the Covenant;" his "*assassinations* and massacres;" his "cold-blooded, indiscriminate, unmanly vengeance;" his "horrid devastation," his "*infamous* end;" and, finally, his "*poetry*, no less execrable than his actions had been as a member of society."

Mr Brodie thus of necessity not only adopts the assassination story, but gives it with variations, additions, and multiplications. "Even in prison Montrose hatched new plots (he says), and the time consumed about the trials of the Incendiaries and Banders was favourable to his schemes. Having opened a fresh correspondence with his Majesty, through William Murray of the Bed-chamber, he still insisted that evidence might be procured against the Hamiltons and Argyle, but advised, as the *simplest way*, to cut them off by assassination, which himself frankly undertook to *furnish the means* of accomplishing. According to Clarendon, *to whom we are indebted* for this portion of secret history, the King abhorred that expedient, though for his own security, and advised that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament."[1]

6.—ROBERT CHAMBERS.

"Struck with an idea, that if these men (Hamilton, Lanerick, and Argyle,) were all removed, the King's interest, and *his own*, would at once rise, he (Montrose) proposed to Charles, *in a letter*, a plan for *having them assassinated.* The mind of the King *revolted with horror* from

[1] A History of the British Empire, vol., II. p. 404; vol., III. p. 150; and vol., IV. pp. 270, 271, 272. But Clarendon did *not* say *both* the Hamiltons. Mr Brodie, however, was too honest to withhold, as Malcolm Laing had done,—"*the King abhorred* that expedient." Lord Nugent, in his Life of Hampden, just repeats Brodie.

a proposal, which, however suitable to the latitude of a half-barbarous state like Scotland, was not at all agreeable to an enlightened mind."[1]

We venture to say, that from the Autumn of the year 1641, when the monstrous and deliberate insult of such *a letter*, written by a subject to a Sovereign, is alleged to have been perpetrated, until the Autumn of 1828, when we find the respectable names of Constable and Robert Chambers attesting that story as an historical fact, it had never been heard of. Clarendon did not say so, even in his first ignorant version of the story. Acherley and Oldmixon did not say so. Malcolm Laing did not say so. As for Montrose's own contemporaries, and personal foes, they wielded the calumny against him *in no shape whatever*. Argyle, Hamilton, Lanerick, and Warriston, are the "men in buckram," of the romance, increasing with each new version. We call each of them into court, as a witness for Montrose. *Argyle* ordered a most voluminous libel against him, at that very time, composed of "*quisquiliæ volantes et venti spolia ;*" and it contains not a hint of the accusation. *Warriston* prepared that process ; and the principle upon which he got it up was, *per fas aut nefas*. *Lanerick* left in manuscript his own cock-and-bull story of the "Incident,"[2] and it breaths not a suspicion against Montrose. As for Hamilton himself, his apologist Burnet had full command of the family archives. That unscrupulous Bishop records Montrose as a *coward*, but seems to have been utterly unconscious, (Clarendon's badly edited History being then unpublished,) that there existed even a breath of a rumour upon the strength of which he might have also dubbed him an *assassin*. Yet, in 1828, we are told by Mr Robert Chambers, for the first time, that Argyle's state prisoner Montrose, had written this horrible proposition to his Sovereign in "a letter," sent by the hand of a third party ! Well done the diffusion of useful knowledge. We entertain great respect for the rustic throne of letters which this accomplished and active minded compiler has erected for himself. His account of the wars of Montrose, in which the above unfortunate *lapsus* occurs, does more justice to the subject, and to the motives and character of the hero, from very imperfect materials, than is to be met with elsewhere, previous to our own minute and extensive researches.[3] His account, and character, of Montrose is utterly at variance with his *unvouched* story of that *written offer to assassinate*, which we find swel-

[1] History of the Rebellions in Scotland, by Robert Chambers, vol., I. p. 242. *Constable's Miscellany*, 1828.

[2] See Lord Hardwicke's State Papers, where Lanerick's account is printed from the Hamilton Archives.

[3] We cannot say as much for the account of Montrose in Mr Chambers's Biographical Dictionary, which must have been written by another hand. See after, p. 547.

tering in the heart of it, like a toad inclosed within the "vestiges of creation." The Chambers Brothers' laboratory of Letters, both in its objects and effects, is ever to be admired. But we must not flinch from telling those most successful chemists, and transmuters of the literary labours of others, that the carelessness which would palm upon history, and in a new and more blattant form, the most monstrous calumny that ever disgraced it, and without a tittle of evidence, is not the diffusion of useful knowledge, but the mere chambering and wantonness of letters.

But from whom did Mr Robert Chambers pick up that notion of *a letter?* And what is it worth? We proceed to show.

Sir James Balfour has preserved the fact, that, while Montrose was still jealously secluded in the Castle, there was read to the Parliament, among many others relative to the "Incident," certain depositions obtained by the usual subservient committee, from that rogue in grain "little Will Murray of the Bed-chamber." Unfortunately, the original record is not forthcoming; but the Lord Lyon, in his enumeration of the documents then read, thus refers to it.

"William Murray, one of the grooms of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, his depositions taken by the Committee 25th October (1641), anent a *discourse* betwixt the Earl of Montrose and him, which he *confesses* he declared to his Majesty; and of his delivery of *three letters* from the Earl of Montrose to the King, and of his Majesty's answer to them. *Item*, the said William *confesses* his taking of *Colonel Cochrane* to the King's Bed-chamber; but does not know what the Colonel said to the King. *Item*, he denies many points of Cochrane's depositions against him, anent divers discourses, at sundry times and occasions, betwixt them. *Item*, he denies he knows any thing of drawing Hamilton and Argyle to a conference in the King's drawing-chamber,—*Read.*"[1]

We have here some light. Clarendon's calumny has it, that Montrose, at a private interview with the King, tendered his personal services as a murderous bravo; and for that purpose, had been admitted to the Bed-chamber,—"by the introduction of Mr William Murray;" clearly importing that Murray's influence had accomplished the frightful interview. But we now have this goblin-groom's own story upon oath, *quantum valeat;* and it is, that he introduced *Colonel Cochrane*. Not a word about having introduced Montrose. How could the author of the greatest history of his times commit such a blunder as for a moment to lend his ear to such a tale? Of course a mere soldier would

[1] Balfour's "Diurnall" of Parl. 1641; *original* MS. Advoc. Lib. Laing (iii. 517) omits "at sundry times and occasions."

require some official introduction; but if Montrose could by any possibility have left his prison at that crisis, what introduction to the King's Bed-chamber did he require from "little Will Murray?" The difficulty, and an *insuperable* one,—for this illustrious state prisoner, was, to *quit the Castle*, not to enter the Bed-chamber. The blunder is so gross that we desiderate a sight of Clarendon's manuscript. Malcolm Laing had discovered that it was *Cochrane* who had been so introduced. He must also have perceived, even from the documents preserved in the Advocates' Library with which he was so partially dealing, that Colonel Cochrane had not put his foot within the Castle as a private visitor, or emissary, of Montrose. Such a fact was never alleged at the time. It was known to be impossible. Why then did Laing not rather come to the conclusion, if he would not reject the story altogether, that the proposition to assassinate, emanated from Cochrane? Simply because our Whig Tacitus would not quit his hold of a calumny that made Montrose a monster. And hence that lucid sentence of his, about an interview that was not *exactly* an interview, but an *indirect* interview, by means of an *intervention!*

Robert Chambers had his wits sufficiently about him, not to tumble into the mire of Malcolm Laing. But unfortunately this most praiseworthy promoter of letters has not mended the matter for the credit of history. Finding that Will Murray depones to having carried a *discourse* and *three letters*,[1] from Montrose to the King, he at once jumps to the gigantic conclusion, that the Earl of Montrose had propounded his "frank offer" of *assassination*, in *a letter*, and that he had entrusted the conveyance of that brimstone billet,—the very odour of which might have reproduced "the pest,"—to the most equivocal character that ever carried the gold key!

Common sense suffices to test such a calumny. But we can absolutely prove, *first*, that the timid Colonel Cochrane[2] made no such proposition to the King; *second*, that neither did any letter that ever reached the King from Montrose, contain a hint of the kind.

1. Upon the 14th of October 1641, Lord Amond,[3] who was implicated in the factious rumour of the "Incident," made a motion in Parliament to the effect of exonerating himself. And here Sir James Balfour records, in the "Diurnal" quoted before,—

[1] Whether it be meant that these three letters all passed at that time, or at "sundry times, and occasions," the meagre record does not enable us to determine.

[2] See before, p. 277.

[3] Soon after created Earl of Callendar. See before, pp. 370, 400.

"*His Majesty* said, that since my Lord Amond went about to clear himself, so would he also. Since that Colonel Home's depositions did bear that *Cochrane* was brought to his bed-chamber by William Murray, one of his grooms, it was true indeed (he said,) that Cochrane was brought by him there, being particularly recommended to him by his sister.[1] When he came in, he shewed me (said his Majesty) he had some matters to impart to me which did nearly concern *the welfare of my affairs;* but withal he adjured me *not to reveal him;*[2] which on my word I promised him. I confess he had many discourses to me, and *most of his own praises.* I will tell no more, unless the House's curiosity urge me to it, and that I may have *his leave* for the same. Only, I would have my Lord Chancellor (Loudon) to find such a way to clear my honour, that I be not esteemed a searcher out of holes in mens' coats. I need not do so; for in the way of justice, I will not stand to follow the best subject in all my dominions."

This statement of the King's was followed up by repeated select committee examinations of Murray and Cochrane; and, amid a maze of confusion, contradictions, and *cross-swearing*, not a word was ever elicited that afforded even a hint in support either of Clarendon's original calumny, or Malcolm Laing's gross *rifacimento* thereof.

[1] The Queen of Bohemia; who had recommended Colonel John Cochrane both to the King and to Montrose.

[2] That is to say,—not to quote him, Cochrane, as the *informer*. This caveat was suggested by the Colonel's dread, that, if produced as the informer by the King, in the same way that Montrose was constrained to produce poor John Stewart of Ladywell, (see before, p. 303,) he might suffer the same fate, under Argyle's murderous interpretation of the old statutes of leasing making. Will any candid enquirer justify Malcolm Laing for giving, as established history, his own outrageous assumption, that *Cochrane* upon this occasion brought to the King that proposition to *assassinate*, from the imprisoned Montrose, when our historian had in his hand Sir James Balfour's manuscript record, (at that time *unpublished*), of the above account given *by the King himself*, of that very interview with Cochrane? Will any human being believe, that, if such a proposition had then been conveyed to his Majesty, he would have *volunteered* in Parliament that pointed reference to the interview, and in the words recorded by Balfour? And what are we to say of our historian, when we find, on consulting the original manuscript in the Advocates' Library, that he had not made an accurate transcript? "He adjured me not to reveal *them*,"—that is, "the matters" imparted,—is the version which Laing chose to publish; being either by way of amendment, (from ignorance of the point of Cochrane's caveat), or else an inexcusable blunder, the word "him" in the MS., being particularly distinct. The difference (to Laing's history) of the reading, not to reveal certain *matters*, instead of the true reading, not to give up a *mere informer*, is manifest. We are glad to see that in the Mr Haig's publication of these manuscripts, (Balfour's Annals, vol. III. p. 103), Laing's misreading has not been adopted, though it passed unnoticed. See the proofs and illustrations to Laing's history, vol. iii. p. 519, and compare with his text, p. 216.

[3] An odd time to praise himself, if he were either the propounder, or the bearer, of a proposition to *assassinate*.

2. There is evidence, however, that Will Murray had obtained access to Montrose in prison, and had carried at least one letter from him to the King, dated in the month of October 1641. Could he have done so without the cognizance, and connivance of the covenanting government? Impossible. When Montrose was first imprisoned, the constable of the Castle, Stephen Boyd, was dismissed from his office because he had suffered him to have an interview with his fellow prisoners, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall. Colonel Lindsay was appointed constable in the place of Boyd, with injunctions to relax their solitary confinement on no pretext whatever, and at his peril. So strictly did the new jailor perform his duty, that he would not even convey a petition from his prisoners, that they might be brought to immediate trial in presence of the King, until he had sought and obtained permission from the Covenanting Parliament to do so. And upon the many occasions when Montrose was before the inquisitorial committee, he was invariably "brought down under a sure guard." How did little Will Murray of the Bed-chamber obtain an audience of Montrose in prison?

Bishop Burnet says:—"Murray of the Bed-chamber had been page and whipping-boy to Charles I., and had great credit with him, not only in procuring private favours, but in all his councils; he was well turned for a court, very insinuating, but *very false;* and of so revengeful a temper, that rather than any of the counsels given by his enemies should succeed, he would have revealed them, and betrayed both the King and them. It was generally believed that he had discovered the most important of all his secrets to his enemies. He had one particular quality, that when he was drunk, which was very often, he was upon a most exact reserve, though he was pretty open at all other times."—(Hist. of his own Time, p. 423.)

We are free to admit, however, that the gossipping historian who has not shrunk (in a work designed to be *posthumous)* from recording Montrose as a coward, is not the most trustworthy evidence of any man being a rogue. If, however, in addition to a bad character from Burnet, we find this hero of the Bed-chamber obtaining a good character from the clerical government of Argyle, his case seems to be hopeless. Now, immediately after the King's return to England, at this very crisis of 1641, a letter or petition was addressed to him on the affairs of the Kirk by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, in which this remarkable passage occurs: "And seeing William Murray,—of whose faithful service your Majesty has had long proof, and of whose abilities and good affections *we* have experience * * * * [1] *this time* in the public

[1] Manuscript torn.

affairs of the Kirk,—hath the honour to attend your Royal person in your bed-chamber, and thereby continual occasion of giving information, and receiving direction from your Royal Majesty in the affairs of the Kirk, therefore, we do, with all earnestness and humility, intreat that your Majesty may be pleased to lay upon him the charge of the *agenting of the affairs of the Kirk, about your Majesty*. Likeas we, for our part, do heartily recommend him to your Majesty for that effect; being confident that the *General Assembly* shall approve this our recommendation, and prove thankful to your Majesty for this and all others your Majesty's Royal favours to the *Kirk of Scotland*."[1]

Moreover, we find, that our covenanting friend, the Reverend Robert Baillie, corresponded with William Murray, signing himself, "your loving friend *and agent*, R. B."[2] In fact, his family connexion with the Kirk was very strong, and he became their most efficient tool, notwithstanding the King's insane reliance on his fidelity. He was the son of William Murray, minister of Dysart in Fife, and through the interest of an uncle, who was preceptor to Charles I., had been introduced as a playmate to the young Prince.[3] Another uncle of his, was Robert Murray, minister of Methven, whose clerical influence was instrumental in "bringing in" Montrose to the Covenant.[4] Clarendon, the so-called authority for the *assassination* story against Montrose, when he had come to enquire a little more closely into the matter, declares, that *the King himself* told him, that it was *Murray* who had pressed upon his Majesty the impeachment of Hamilton and Argyle, before the storm of the "Incident" arose; and that *Montrose himself* told him, that Murray, after he had been "a principal encourager" of that impeachment, and after undertaking to prove "many notable things" himself, "was the only man who discovered that whole counsel to the Marquis of Hamilton."[5] When all this is disclosed, and we discover this same worthy, immediately after the bruit of the "Incident," in the double

[1] Contemporary manuscript, Advocates' Library, endorsed, "Coppie of Letter sent from the Commissioners of the Assembly, and his Majesty's answer thereto." To this recommendation the infatuated King replies: "Likeas we, having had long proof of the faithfulness of William Murray, who attends us in our bed-chamber, do hereby declare that we most willingly accept of your recommendation of him for his receiving of these leets [of six, out of which a vacancy in churches was to be filled,] and agenting the other affairs of the church, directed to him from the Presbyteries and Officers of the church," &c. "Whitehall, the 3d of January 1642."

[2] *Original*, Advocates' Library, printed in Hailes' Memorials, vol. ii. p. 180.

[3] See before, p. 272.

[4] See before, p. 263.

[5] See before, p. 363, reference to Clarendon, *note*.

capacity of Hamilton's confidential creature, and the *pet agent of the Kirk*, the mystery is unravelled, as to *how* he got access to Montrose in the Castle, and *why* the covenanting Government permitted it, at that crisis of 1641 so vital for the most unscrupulous of factions.[1]

We must now turn to another actor in this pregnant scene of the Troubles.

Our readers have already been introduced to Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, the Lord Advocate's second son, and chief adviser.[2] The manner of this factionist (who owed his rise to that indulgent Sovereign whose fall was occasioned by the secret machinations of which Sir Thomas was one of the most powerful springs), was to accomplish the objects of his disingenuous clique by means of small packed committees, and secret measures of the meanest kind.[3] Accordingly when the storm of the "Incident" was made to explode over the head of the insulted and bewildered King, and when his Majesty, and all the honourable and loyal to be found in that Assembly, and even some who were neither, called for a *public* investigation, this leading organ of as mean a clique as ever ministered to the destruction of religion and liberty, insisted "in the name of the barons," that the investigation should be secret. "I do not understand *private* examinations,"—said the excited and agitated King. When the Lord Advocate was called in to plead the point, upon this occasion at least he did not fly in the face of his master. But as Baillie has it, "he was *well dealt with* by his *two sons*."

"The King's Advocate being licenced by the House, pleaded long, and at last concluded that no trial could be so clear as that which was public, for the King's honour; for a Committee would still in some men's minds leave some jealousies and suspicions on the King's honour; for, what touched his Majesty it of necessity behoved to be kept up." No sooner, however, had the Advocate ceased, than up rose the Advocate's second son, and thus delivered himself.

Sir Thomas Hope.—"The *most secret way* is the *best way;* and yet both ways are legal, and the Parliament have it in their power which of the two ways, either public or private, to do it; but for *secret* and *exact* trial, the *private way* is undoubtedly the best."

The King.—"If men were so charitable as not to believe *false rumours*, Sir Thomas, I would be of your mind. Since I see the con-

[1] And so miserably was the infatuated King deceived, that we find him still in 1642 entrusting William Murray with confidential missives to Montrose, and soon thereafter he raised that disreputable character to the peerage as Earl of Dysart. See p. 372.

[2] See before, p. 308.

[3] See before, pp. 307, 371, 649.

trary, you must give me leave to think otherwise. But, however the matter go, I must see myself get *fair play*. I protest that if it come to a *committee*, neither my honour, nor those interested, can have right. *Nam aliquid semper adherebit.*[1]

Amid a violent contention which then arose, and continued for some days, Sir Thomas Hope the younger eventually carried his point, and saved the nefarious *committee* government of Scotland.[2]

Now, it is this same worthy whom we find, very soon after the date of Montrose's missive from the Castle, which Murray carried to the King, not only in possession of the fact of the letter, but of the *nature of its contents*. Did it contain a proposition to *assassinate?* If it did, would that have escaped the lynx-like prowling of "A. B."[3] We shall see.

Upon the 30th of October 1641, the King being present in Parliament, "Sir Thomas Hope, in the name of the barons, humbly intreats his Majesty, for better clearing the great business in hand, that he would give his subjects that contentment, to let *the committee* (for the "Incident") see the last letter which Montrose wrote to his Majesty. His Majesty answered, that he would, at two o'clock, show it to the committee, at Holyrood-House, so that *some more* of each estate might be joined to them. He willed the House to direct that Montrose might be brought down there, *under a sure guard*, and he (Montrose) would himself then clear the business to them." Four Earls, of the bitterest of the faction, with as many barons, and burgesses, were added to the Incident committee, for this occasion, in consequence of the King's demand, and the interview came off at Holyrood, as appointed by his Majesty. The awful letter was read, and the noble state prisoner *posed* as to the meaning of its contents. Surely the murder was out now, and Montrose caught in the net cast for leasing-making? Unfortunately, no record of that extraordinary scene has been discovered. Yet we find evidence conclusive, as to all that was alarming to the faction contained in that letter,—the *only* one, be it observed, that was challenged,—and it breathed not a syllable of that foul proposition, which one historian alone (so far as we can discover), from that time to this, has ever said that it did contain, Mr Robert Chambers, namely, in the nineteenth century.

[1] For something will always adhere.

[2] See the whole of this extraordinary scene, so disgraceful to the covenanting government, and so creditable to Charles the First, and the few honourable and high-minded peers who joined him in his indignant and excited remonstrances, minutely and graphically noted by Sir James Balfour, *Annals*, vol. iii. pp. 94–135.

[3] See before, p. 309.

Immediately after this interview, Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, present another petition to the Parliament, to be released on security:

"The House ordains this bill to have no answer, till first the Earl of Montrose give a positive declaration in answer to that letter written by him to his Majesty, to these words thereof,—'*that he would particularly acquaint his Majesty with a business which not only did concern his honour in a high degree, but the standing and falling of his crown likewise.*' They ordain him to be examined before the *committee for the Incident* upon the foresaid words, at two o'clock this afternoon."

The persecuted Earl was again brought before the *Vehm Gericht* of Scotland; and again he refused to be hunted into the toils of *leasing-making.*

"The committee for the Incident make their report, that, according to the order of the House, they had called before them the Earl of Montrose, and interrogated him, *what he meant* by those words of his letter,'—'*that he would show his Majesty that which did not only concern his honour,*' *&c.* He said, what his meaning was, he had already declared to his Majesty, and the committee from the Parliament, on Saturday last at Holyrood House: He further declared, that thereby he neither did intend, neither could or would he, wrong any particular person whatsoever. This being read under Montrose's hand to the House, it did not give them *satisfaction.*"[1]

Thus we have proved what the obnoxious matter was, in the only letter from Montrose to the King which the faction questioned. Immediately thereafter, the monster libel appears against him, and in that there is not a breath of the calumny of *assassination.* Such a calumny was absolutely unknown to his contemporary calumniators and unknown to himself. We are now entitled to call upon Mr Robert Chambers, (upon whose most praiseworthy diffusion of knowledge and otherwise just estimate of the character of Montrose, that unvouched assertion forms an unseemly blot), for *his* authority when he records as history, —"*Struck with an idea, that, if these men were all removed, the King's interest and his own would at once rise, Montrose proposed to Charles,* IN A LETTER, *a plan for having them* ASSASSINATED."

[1] Balfour's Annals, as before referred to. See also, the author's "Montrose and the Covenanters," vol. ii. chapters v. vi., where the affair of the "Incident" is more fully illustrated and exposed.

7.—D'ISRAELI.

This accomplished biographer and champion of Charles the First, has in like manner defaced his lively *Commentaries*, with this ugly blunder. Not observing, that, of those two distinct and separate pages of Lord Clarendon's manuscripts which have reference to the "Incident," that which is the fullest, and derived from the most authentic sources, imputes nothing against Montrose, and not only contradicts, but must have been intended to supersede the former, D'Israeli has framed his narrative upon an indiscriminate adoption of *both*. So careless on that subject was our loyal author, as to assume that from *Charles himself* Clarendon had the anecdote of Montrose's offer to commit *assassination;* the very reverse being the case. The Chancellor, as appears from his own manuscripts, had been completely disabused by conversations not only with the King, but with Montrose. And upon this confused and mistaken reading, D'Israeli records, and endeavours to extenuate, "that *frank offer* of assassination which the daring and *vindictive* Montrose would not have hesitated to have performed by *his creatures*, for he was himself *confined in the Castle* by the Covenanters."

From such a pen, that passage, any thing but history and scarcely intelligible, must be read with a feeling of melancholy, not unmingled with a sense of the ridiculous provoked by the apology that follows:

"Events of *this nature*, the still barbarous customs of the age had not rendered so *singular* and *repulsive*, as they appear to our *more subdued* manners: The Court of France, where Montrose had *some time resided*, offers several remarkable instances, even under the eyes of Louis XIII. called the Just."[1]

But is it not part of the story, that Charles recoiled *with horror* from the proposition? And did he not write, a few months thereafter, to the alleged *frank* offerer,—"MONTROSE: I know I need no arguments to induce you to my service: Duty and loyalty are sufficient to a man of *so much honour as I know you to be.*"[2]

[1] D'Israeli's Commentaries on the Life of Charles I., vol. iv. p. 322.

[2] See page 366. Judging, however, by Mr Macaulay's character of Charles the First, in the introductory chapter to his dazzling and blinding History of England, that historian would not hesitate to come to the conclusion that Charles was capable of so writing, even were the anecdote true. But the expressions are volunteered in a *private* letter to Montrose himself, immediately after the alleged atrocity. Even *an assassin* would not have so addressed his accomplice.

8.—SIR WALTER SCOTT.

The great good sense, and knowledge of human character, which tempered the genius of Sir Water Scott, prevented his adopting the anecdote of assassination. But he was otherwise employed than in such minute investigation as was necessary to clear this blot from the face of History. He was aware of the passage which had been published under the name of Clarendon; immediately garbled, with most impudent variations, by Acherley and by Oldmixon; subsequently modified, with no less effrontery, by Malcolm Laing to suit the facts of which Clarendon was ignorant; and finally gloated over by Brodie, to the great edification of the reliant Lord Nugent in his life of Hampden. Nor could Sir Walter fail to know that quiet note of four lines in Hume's History of England, where a single but sufficient reason is given for contradicting the anecdote. It would seem, however, that he did not feel that confidence on the subject which might have induced him to repeat and fortify the contradiction by Hume, so as to support it against such writers as Malcolm Laing. Accordingly, while he adopts some of the minor details of the false anecdote, he simply omits and passes in silence its most monstrous feature. No doubt this silence indicates the disbelief of Scott; yet considering the nature of the charge, and its hold of history, the omission seems more like a pious evasion than a positive contradiction. This told severely against the fame of Montrose. Let us consider the passage in Scott.

"Montrose contrived, however, to communicate with the King from his prison in the Castle of Edinburgh, and *disclosed so many circumstances* respecting the purposes of the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Argyle, that Charles had resolved to arrest them both at one moment, and had assembled soldiers for that purpose. They escaped, however, and retired to their houses, where they could not have been seized but by open violence, and at the risk of a civil war."—(Hist. of Scotland, vol. i., p. 422. Edit. 1836.)

The words which we have printed in italics are obviously an adoption of the assertion, in the Clarendon anecdote, that Montrose "informed the King of *many particulars*," &c. But Scott had not observed that the whole plausibility of this assertion depends upon the previous one, that Montrose "came *privately* to the King," and which Clarendon himself had subsequently discovered to be false. A *private interview* might indeed have facilitated the communication of "many particulars;" but communications by hasty letters *from prison*, and through the interven-

tion of a third party, must necessarily have been of the most general and cautious nature. That in point of fact they were so, we have proved above. Neither is there *the slightest evidence* that Charles had made any preparations for arresting Hamilton or Argyle, or had any intention of doing so at the time when they fled and raised the popular excitement of *The Incident.* Besides, Lanerick's absurd story is, that the intention was not to "arrest" merely, but, if resistance was offered, "to *cut the throats* both of Argyle, my brother, and myself."[1]

9.—LORD LINDSAY.

It may seem presumptuous to defend a great Lindsay chief, from the author of the "Lives of the Lindsays,"—the most instructive and interesting of domestic histories. "A strange plot," says Lord Lindsay (2. 60,), "now came to light, *ascertained but obscurely*, and known in Scottish history by the mysterious epithet of the *Incident*,—'one of the most wicked and horrible plots,' says Baillie, 'that has been heard of, that put us all for some days in a mighty fear.' It seems to have been the *joint concoction* of Montrose and Crawford, and was schemed, *as Mr Chambers' remarks*, completely in the spirit of an ancient Scottish raid." And so, leaning throughout, in that matter, upon Mr Chambers, Lord Lindsay repeats all the cloudy trash of the Incident, with the most innocent credulity, investing it, indeed, with a tone of romantic adventure, but landing the good King, and the two loyal Earls, in a quagmire of the most truculent intention, and the most imbecile conception. Which was the bloodiest bravo, or the weakest fool, of the three, Charles the First, Earl Montrose, or Earl Crawford, it would be difficult from Lord Lindsay's narrative to determine. "*Every one*," he says, "was persuaded, that the plot had the King's concurrence, and distrust deepened more and more"! It is not our business to write the life of Ludovic Lindsay, Earl of Crawford; but the noble bard and representative of his illustrious house must forgive us for suggesting a revisal of that chapter of his family record. We take the liberty to ask these questions: If that alleged most horrible and insane plot of 1641 was "the joint concoction of Montrose and Crawford," why was that not asserted by their contemporary enemies? And, at what time, and in what places, did they meet, or communicate, in order to *concoct* it?

[1] See Lanerick's cloudy tale, printed from the Hamilton Archives, in Lord Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 299. In that, *not a word is said against Montrose.*

10. M. GUIZOT.

The principal authorities among those submitted to the foregoing scrutiny, that is to say, Clarendon's editors, and the Scotch historians Laing and Brodie, are chiefly, but not altogether, responsible for a passage we are about to quote from M. Guizot's "Histoire de la Revolution d'Angleterre," (i. 212; *quatriéme edition*, 1850). That even this most distinguished literary statesman of France should be carried by the seeming weight of historical authority in Montrose's own country, for the calumny in question, is not very surprising. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that finding each of these various local authorities modifying the details of the improbable story to their own conception of what might seem a little more probable, M. Guizot, too, on a review of the complicated and mystified affair, should find himself constrained to understand the story according to a modification of his own. Hume's express, and Scott's tacit rejection of the gross calumny, he appears to disregard. A very great mistake. Yet he does not absolutely follow the so-called authority of Clarendon, nor Laing, nor Brodie, nor Chambers. He does not say, with the first, that Montrose proposed to his Sovereign, as the best expedient, "to kill them both, which he frankly undertook to do." He does not say, with Laing, that he made that offer through the personal intervention of a third party. Neither does he say with Brodie, that the terms of the offer were "to furnish the means of accomplishing" that assassination. Nor yet with Chambers, that he transmitted the foul proposal from his prison, in a letter under his own hand, which he had the temerity to entrust to a Groom of the Bedchamber, who was an agent of the Kirk, and notorious for getting drunk. What he says is, that with the aid of certain of his creatures, Montrose escaped secretly from his prison, presented himself by night in the King's bed-chamber, informed him of all he knew, accused Hamilton of conspiring along with Argyle in the plots of the disaffected, assured the King that their papers would prove the case against them, and, in fine, undertook himself to secure those two leaders unawares, and to make short work with them *if they resisted*. The entire passage is as follows:—

"Un jeune et hardi gentilhomme, dévoué d'abord au Covenant, mais rentré depuis dans la faveur du roi, le Comte de Montrose,[1] s'était engagé à lui procurer *ces documents* tant désirés. Sur sa parole, Charles

"(1) Jacques Graham, Comte de Montrose (Mountross) né à Edinbourg en 1612."

The year of Montrose's birth is here accurately noted by M. Guizot; but that he was born in Edinburgh is against all tradition, and not at all likely. See before, p.. 2.

était parti ; mais, avant sont arrivée *une lettre en chiffres*,[1] interceptée par Argyle, excita les soupçons des Écossais, et le roi trouva Montrose en prison. Animé par le péril, et brûlant de se venger, le Comte lui fit dire que, s'il pouvait le voir, il lui ferait connaître ses vrais ennemis et leurs trames passées. Par l'entremise de quelques affidés, Montrose sortit *secrètement* de sa prison, se rendit *de nuit* dans la chambre du roi,[2] l'informa de tout ce qu'il savait, accusa Hamilton d'avoir concouru, aussi bien qu' Argyle, aux menées des mécontents, assura le roi que *leurs papiers* en fourniraient les preuves, l'engagea enfin à s'assurer brusquement de ces deux chefs, à s'en défaire même s'ils résistaient. Prompt à accueillir les résolutions téméraires, et sans songer à l'effet qu'un acte *si violent* ne pouvait manquer de produire sur l'esprit du peuple qu'il s'efforçait de gagner, *Charles consentit à tout ;*[3] le complot s'ourdit à l'ombre de concessions, et tout était prêt pour l'exécution lorsque les deux lords, avertis à temps, firent tout échouer en quittant la ville avec éclat."[4]

This particular version of Montrose's alleged proposition to the King we do not remember to have met with anywhere else ; namely, that he undertook himself to arrest suddenly both Hamilton and Argyle ; and to dispatch them at once, if they resisted. He made his escape, secretly (according to M. Guizot), from his prison in that isolated stronghold the Castle of Edinburgh, and appeared by night in the King's bed-chamber in Holyrood House, at the other extremity of the city, for the purpose of making this insane offer of service ! And having made it, he forthwith *escaped back again* into his prison, the fact of his

[1] A total mistake. See before, pp. 308, 321, 335, 365.

[2] None of our mistaken historians are so specific as to lay the scene *at night*, in the King's bed-chamber ; but as the interview never occurred at all, it may as safely be laid at night as in the day time. M. Guizot, who quotes Laing as one of his authorities, had overlooked the fact, that that historian rejects altogether the theory that Montrose had quitted his prison, and only founds the calumny upon what he ingeniously calls an " indirect interview by intervention." The French historian may not have met with Mr Chambers's version ; but he will there find a *letter* substituted for Laing's *intervention*. These authors knew what could not so readily occur to M. Guizot, that if under the circumstances of that imprisonment, " Montrose sortit secrétement de sa prison," he must have crept through the key-hole. And how did he get back again ?

[3] From what source is that allegation derived ? Certainly not from Clarendon. On the contrary, the story, both in Clarendon and Brodie, is, that the King recoiled from the main proposition *with horror*. M. Guizot is not just to Charles in that paragraph.

[4] " *Hardwick's State Papers*, t. ii. p. 299.—Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebell.* t. ii. p. 224, et suiv.—Burnet, *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 148–171.—*Baillie's Letters*, t. i. p. 320, 327, 330–332.—Malcolm Laing, *Hist. of Scotland*, t. iii. p. 228, et suiv., et note 8, p. 547–555.—Brodie, *Hist. of British Empire*, etc., t. iii. p. 142–156."—*(Note by M. Guizot.)*

absence never having transpired, or been detected even by his vigilant and inexorable jailor! The marvel is, that such a writer as M. Guizot had not perceived, that, upon the very face of that story its own refutation is written in the most legible of characters.

That Montrose was anxious to arraign the political proceedings of Argyle and Hamilton publicly, before the King in Parliament, there can be no doubt. He repeatedly said so himself.[1] But that Charles came, by his advice, to Scotland in 1641, not for his avowed intention of an equitable and constitutional settlement of the troubles there, but in search of materials, and certain specific documents, to establish a charge of treason against some of the leading revolutionists in both countries, is a theory for which we have in vain endeavoured to discover any foundation that deserves either the name or the countenance of History. And, probably, had the great historian with whom we are now presuming to deal, in defence of Montrose, been aware of the original documents which we have produced in illustration of that complicated chapter in the biography of the highest minded nobleman of those times, his own history of the transactions connected with the King's progress to Scotland in 1641 would have been materially modified.[2]

M. Guizot refers to "Hardwicke's State Papers, t. ii. p. 299." We are familiar with the reference. It is Lanerick's "Relation" to some unknown friend, of all that he could tell touching the alleged diabolical plot, which caused his brother Hamilton and Argyle to fly from Edinburgh, under real or pretended terror, during the sitting of the Parliament in 1641. Burnet, to whom M. Guizot also refers, only gave the substance of Lanerick's original manuscript (which he found among the Hamilton Archives), in his celebrated apology for the two Dukes. In after years, Lord Hardwicke published it entire, but without illustration, in his selection of State Papers, from that same mine of Scottish history. It is a minute and whining account, belonging essentially to the cock-and-bull order, of all that Lanerick knew, or had heard, or suspected, of an alleged plot, to inveigle Argyle, Hamilton, and Lanerick himself into the King's own "with-drawing chamber," to seize their persons in his presence, and carry them by force on board one of his Majesty's ships then at anchor in Leith Roads, or, if they resisted, to "cut the throats" of the whole three, even in the presence, and in the private apartment of the King! We are not here engaged in the task of redeeming the good King Charles from the imputation involved in the

[1] See before, pp. 303, 305, 327.

[2] See before, pp. 311–317.

conception of such a clumsy butchering plot. Our business is with Montrose. And what is most material to him as regards this authority (being M. Guizot's leading reference against him), is, that from the beginning to the end of the outrageous nonsense therein set down, by the weak-minded and loose principled second Duke of Hamilton, Montrose is neither named nor alluded to. Indeed, so little of suspicion did there arise against Montrose at the time, of being a party to the plot in question, that not only was no scrap found among the Hamilton Archives indicating that he was so accused, but not a breath of it had ever crossed the fine nose of Burnet, who, even in his apology for the Hamiltons, casts not a whimper into the air upon that carrion scent.

But did Lanerick himself not assure the good King, that with his own hand he was ready to dispatch his brother Hamilton, under certain circumstances which he figures? Is Clarendon's famous anecdote not some confusion with regard to a proposal of the kind emanating from Lanerick? Far be it from us to say so. We put no such odious construction upon the following words of that unhappy nobleman, who was his own worst enemy. But this we do say, that our present defence of Montrose were all utterly paralyzed, could there be produced against him, under his own hand, that which was produced by Lord Hardwicke, when he produced this same "Relation," dated, "Kenneell, this 22d of October 1641," and signed "LANERICK."

"The next day, I was informed, his Majesty had let fall some expressions to my disadvantage, in the Parliament House; whereupon I again *sent to him*, begging him to believe, that I had not a heart capable of a disloyal thought to him; and that if I believed my brother had any, he should not be troubled with thinking how to punish him, *for I had both a heart and hand capable to do it.*" [1]

[1] This very significant passage is not alluded to by Bishop Burnet, who in those Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton (p. 186), gives the substance of Lanerick's "Relation," but does not print, and only obscurely refers to the document itself, in that part of his narrative. The reason is obvious.

Lord Nugent's version of the calumny in his Memorials of Hampden (vol. ii. p. 96), is not worthy of particular examination. It is a weak repetition of Mr Brodie, whom the noble author blindly follows, at the same time misquoting the words of Clarendon, and misapplying the authority of Hailes's historical letters.

VI.

ASSASSINATION AN EXPEDIENT OF ARGYLE'S. (*See p.* 447.)

1. We have proved in our text, that Sir William Rollo, a most gallant and highly honourable gentleman, told Montrose that he, Rollo, only escaped from the deadly clutches of Argyle, by pretending to accede to the proposal to *assassinate* Montrose. Wishart published this story to Europe, in Latin and in English, with the knowledge and sanction of Montrose, and in the lifetime of all the parties (see p. 459). It was never contradicted on the part of Argyle.

2. It is further corroborated by the fact, that whenever Montrose appeared in arms, commissioned to raise the royal standard, the government of Argyle issued a printed proclamation, of date 12th September 1644, containing these words:—

"And the Committee doth hereby declare, in name of this Kingdom, that whoever will take and apprehend the said Earl of Montrose, and *exhibit him alive*, before the Parliament, or their *committee;* or, if he shall *happen to be slain* in the taking, shall *exhibit his head*, that every such person shall not only be pardoned for their bygone concurrence in this rebellion, and *all other crimes* formerly committed by them, not being *treasonable*, but also they shall have the sum of *twenty thousand pounds Scots*, delivered to them in present and ready payment."[1]

It was immediately after the date of this proclamation that Sir William Rollo, carrying dispatches from Montrose to the King, fell into the hands of Argyle, and was only permitted to return to Montrose under the promise to take his life.

3. The above proclamation was published six days after *Argyle himself* received with open arms, and rewarded and promoted, the murderer of Lord Kilpont. Independently of the accounts by all the contemporary chroniclers, this awful fact is placed beyond question, by the Parliamentary ratification of the assassin's approval, the foulest stain of many on the face of the rescinded records of Scotland's Covenanting Convention. It is the murderer's own story.

"1. March, 1645. Ratification of James Stewart's pardon for killing of the Lord Kilpont.

"Forsameikle as umquhile John Lord Kilpont, being employed in

[1] See the entire document printed in "Memorials of Montrose," vol. ii. p. 163. *Maitland Club.* See also, p. 449 of this biography.

public service in the month of August last, against James Graham, then Earl of Montrose, the Irish rebels and their associates, did not only treasonably join himself, but also treasonably trained a great number of his Majesty's subjects, about four hundred persons or thereby, who came with him for the defence of the country, to join also with the said rebels, of the which number were James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, Robert Stewart his son, Duncan M'Robert Stewart in Balquhidder, Andrew Stewart there, Walter Stewart in Glenfinglass, and John Growder in Glassinserd, friends to the said James; who *heartily thereafter repenting of his error* in joining with the said rebels, and abhoring their cruelty,[1] *resolves with his said friends* to forsake their wicked company, and *imparted this resolution* to the said umquhile Lord Kilpont: But he, out of his malignant dispositions, opposed the same, and fell in struggling with the said James, who, *for his own relief*, was forced to kill him at the *Kirk of Collace*, with two Irish rebels who resisted his escape, and so removed happily *with his said son and friends*, and came *straight to the Marquis of Argyle*, and offered their service to their country: Whose carriage in this particular being considered by the Committee of Estates, they by their act of the tenth of December last, find and declare that the said James Stewart *did good service to the kingdom* in killing the said Lord Kilpont, and two Irish rebels foresaid, being in actual rebellion against the country, and *approved of what he did therein:* And in regard thereof, and of the said James his son and friends retiring from the said rebels and joining with the country, did fully and freely pardon them for their said joining with the rebels and their associates, or for being any ways accessory, actors, art and part of and to any of the crimes, misdeeds, or malversations done by themselves or by the rebels and their associates, or any of them, during the time they were with the said rebels; and declares them free, in their persons, estates, and goods, of any thing can be laid to their charge therefor, or for killing the Lord Kilpont and two Irish rebels foresaid, in time coming."

The act of the committee proceeds to prohibit all judicatories and judges whomsoever, from any attempt to bring the parties to justice, or to entertain the case against them in any shape, and the submissive Parliament, taking all this into their special consideration, " and acknowledging the equity thereof," *confirms and ratifies* the same in favour of James Stewart, his son, and his other friends named.[2]

[1] Yet Ardvoirlich admits having committed three murders, in making his escape, one of them being that of his patron and friend.

[2] MS. Record of the Rescinded Acts.—*General Register House.*

VII.

[The following curious document, obviously a very rude draft, we found among the Montrose Archives. It had not been previously printed. The handwriting is contemporary with its date, but is not Montrose's. It is entitled "Montrose's Key, 1648." At this time he was abroad struggling to redeem the Monarchy; and the context of the document indicates that it had been sent to Montrose by some correspondent in London. No letter has been discovered containing any of these disguised names. Some of the *sobriquets* are very characteristic, and afford a curious index to the estimate of the individuals. It will be observed, that "*venture faire*," which stands opposite to Montrose's own name, is just his "*nil medium*," and his "*gain or lose it all*," in French. The document is a study; and we have printed it with the corrections as they appear in the manuscript].

"MONTROSE'S KEY, 1648."

"Kinge, *Argeers*, His Party, *torrens.*
Queene, ~~*Paris*~~, ~~*Ga*~~ *Venize.*
Prince, *Hogen mogen* or *Mr Hope, His Counsell—Hopeless.*
Duke, ~~*Holland*~~, *the Skipper.*
Rupert, ~~*Germany*~~ ~~*Midd*~~, *Campheer.*
Montross, *Venture faire.*
Hamilton, *Craige a perill, Captaine Lucklesse.*
Lanerick, *Peter a packs (jugler).*
Argyle, ~~*Ruling*~~ ~~*Elder*~~, *Merchant of Middleburgh.*
Chancelor, ~~*Whigamore*~~ or *Whirlegigg.*
Lauerdale, *John Jackson.*
Calender, *Almanak.*
Lindsey, ~~*Judas*~~ *Rc*, *Zio.*
Balmerenock, *Gamster.*
Parliament of Scotland, *John Thomson's man.*
Committee, *the Diminutive.*
Assembly, *Goodwife that wears the breeches.*
Presbiters, Ministers, } ~~*Rabbi*~~ ~~*Druides*~~ *Bardi.*
Armie, *Metamore.*
Shipps, *Sea Mawes.*
Sir Archibald Johnston, *Bees.*
Cheeslie, *Gooscappe.*
William Murray, *Amphibion or Negotianic.*
Sir Robert Murray, *the Tutor.*
David Leslie, the *Executioner.*
The North, *the Snowe.*

The South, *the Sunne.*
Edinburgh, *Rotterdam.*
London, *Amsterdam.*
Parliament of England, *Corryuall.*
Synod, *Apes or Munkies.*
Southeske, *the auld man.*
Trawhquaire, *Versatilis.*
Carnageny, *Our freinde.*
Syuel, *Achates.*
Ogylby, *Our cousin.*
Lighcoe, *the Youth.*
Carnwath, *the untrusty.*
Dumfrise, *the Goodman.*
Roxbrough, *Fox.*
Huntley, *the Maurgame.*
Siefort, *the Warry.*
Mr Hope, *Argiers.*

" Any other names may be couched plainly, for or against them.

" Subscribe, *Jackson.* Direct, *To your loving friend Mr Jameson, merchand, to be left at Robert Inglis, merchand of London, neare London stone.*"

[Endorsed] " Seuerall Cypher Keys."

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